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**PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY
VOL. XXIV.**

**ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET
SIR THOS. BYAM MARTIN, G.C.B.**



MRS. MARTIN AND HER SONS JOSIAH AND BYAM MARTIN.
1785.

LETTERS AND PAPERS

OF

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET

Sir Thos. Byam Martin

G.C.B.

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD VESEY HAMILTON, G.C.B.

ADMIRAL

VOL. I.



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INTRODUCTION

IN the Introduction to vol. ii. I explained my reasons for deferring the publication of the papers relating to the earlier years of Byam Martin's career in favour of those which recorded the less well-known events of his service in the Baltic, on the coast of Spain, and at Antwerp, as well as the story of his life as comptroller of the navy, and after his summary dismissal from the office on his refusal to support the Reform Bill in Parliament (vol. iii. p. 262). The present volume, being in point of date the first of the series, gives the story of his boyhood and earlier service as midshipman, lieutenant, and commander, together with his correspondence as a young captain, commanding cruising frigates on the coast of Ireland or of France.

Admiral of the Fleet Sir Thomas Byam Martin, G.C.B., born on 26th July, 1773, was third son of Sir Henry Martin, a captain of 1757, who, as the Seven Years' War drew to an end, married Eliza Anne, daughter of Harding Parker, of Hilbrook, co.

Cork, and widow of St. Leger Hayward Gillman, of Gillmanville, in the same county,¹ practically retired from active service² and settled at Bath, from which he moved to Portsmouth on his appointment, in 1780, as resident commissioner of the navy. In 1790 he was moved to London as comptroller of the navy; in 1791 he was made a baronet, and he died in 1794 (p. 257). Beyond the outline of his services in the 'Biographia Navalis,' the account of him here given by his son (pp. 6-11), and the few letters that have been preserved (pp. 195-246) comprise all that we can now know of him.

Byam Martin made his first acquaintance with the navy in 1781, when crossing over from Gosport to Portsmouth, on his way from Bath to his new home in the dockyard. Though only a child, the appearance of the ships of war in the harbour made a lasting impression on his mind; and in his excitement, as they passed under the stern of the Royal George—the same that foundered at Spithead in the following year—he nearly jumped out of the boat. 'I see, sir,' said his father's coxswain, 'you are determined to be a sailor' (p. 4). The sight of the many lovely things in the dockyard, and of a midshipman scarcely bigger than himself, fired his young imagination and seemed to render the drudgery of lessons impossible, till he was sent away to a boarding school at Guildford.

¹ For a note of Martin's collateral relatives and his connection with the Byams of Antigua, see Foster's *Baronetage*, and O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary*.

² See Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, vol. vi. p. 264.

It was in this time of youthful idleness that he first made the acquaintance of Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV. He has recorded the astonishment he felt at seeing the respect paid to this boy by his father and other senior officials. He himself and his elder brother, then ten years old, were not prepared to show the same submission, and getting the Prince in the back garden, had a noisy quarrel with him, which would certainly have gained for them 'a royal thrashing,' had not the Commissioner, with his gold-headed cane, and General Bude, the Prince's governor, intervened. Afterwards the Prince was a frequent visitor at the Commissioner's house, which indeed he made his home whenever he was at Portsmouth. To his ill-regulated mind it was perhaps a natural consequence that he fell in love with one of the Commissioner's daughters, whom it became necessary to send from home to escape his attentions (pp. 20-21, 208).

In April 1786 the Prince was promoted to be captain of the *Pegasus*, a 28-gun frigate of 600 tons burden, to which Byam Martin was also appointed as 'captain's servant' (pp. 12, 23). In the *Pegasus*, and afterwards in the *Andromeda*, nearly the whole of his junior service was with the Prince, of whose care and attention to the training of the younger officers he speaks in the highest terms, as well as of his preference for old shipmates or the sons of naval officers to 'the bantlings of the aristocracy,' whom he was 'pestered' to take with him (pp. 25, 28).

The first cruise of the *Pegasus* was to 'our oldest

colony,' if an island, under such an extraordinary system of government as Newfoundland then had, can be called a colony. Quoting from the official 'Records,' Judge Prowse, in his 'History of Newfoundland' (p. 366), tells how in July 1786, when the Pegasus was at Placentia—

A riot happening on shore at 4 o'clock, the magistrate attending to suppress it was insulted. The Prince came on shore with a guard of marines [and, presumably, a couple of boatswain's mates], arrested the ringleader, called a court, and sentenced him to receive 100 lashes—he was only able to receive 80. Next day inquired into the facts of the case (and report has it that they had whipped the wrong man).

The ship was still at Placentia when the Prince came of age, and Byam Martin has given a lively account of the orgies with which the event was celebrated (p. 36). To his young 'servant' the Prince seems to have played the part of 'the shocking example.'

From Newfoundland the Pegasus went to the West Indies, where a difference of opinion between the Prince and Mr. Schomberg, the first lieutenant, as to the way the duty should be carried on led to the latter applying for a court-martial. The matter was eventually referred to Commodore Gardner at Jamaica (p. 69), and was settled by him in an amicable way, on Schomberg's apologising; though the Prince—in my opinion very sensibly—refused to keep him as first lieutenant of the Pegasus. That there were faults on both sides would seem to have been, virtually, Gardner's judgment; but

if the order-book of the Pegasus was anything like that of the Andromeda (pp. 341 *et seq.*) the uncomfortable state of both ships is fully accounted for. Speaking for myself, as a captain I never had an order-book, except the 'night order-book'; and an old shipmate of the Duke of Edinburgh assures me that there was not one in the Galatea when the Duke commanded her.

On her return north the Pegasus visited Louisbourg, the advanced post of the French for the defence of the St. Lawrence. It was taken by Boscawen and Amherst in 1758, after Laforey and Balfour had captured the two line-of-battle ships which defended the harbour. It is, I believe, the only instance of ships of the line being cut out of a harbour by boats. Byam Martin tells us that when he was at Louisbourg in 1787, after the lapse of nearly thirty years, the charred wreck of one of them, the Prudent, was still there (p. 95).

Naval officers are often severe critics of the conduct of their fellows, and some of Byam Martin's judgments, written from memory long afterwards, may perhaps be unduly harsh. His description of Mr. Jackson, for instance, the master of the Leander (pp. 106-7), scarcely fits with his being selected by Erasmus Gower, who had known him by repute in North America, to be master of the Lion for a voyage in unknown seas; or by Hood and Jervis, as master of the flag-ship in the Mediterranean. It will, of course, be noticed that Byam Martin's story of Jackson's violence towards the pilot, previous to the Leander's striking on the shoal, is—*independent of the lapse of time*—a second-hand relation, which

is not likely to have been given him by either Barclay or Jackson or the pilot. What lookers-on from a distance saw, or fancied they saw, might easily be exaggerated, and would not be likely to lose in the telling. The same must be said of the story of Jackson's misadventure in China, though that, in itself, appears more probable. A master on shore taking sights—equal altitudes, for instance—was apt to be short-tempered with bystanders who would insist on shaking the artificial horizon; and some Chinamen are extraordinarily 'handy' with their feet in the way described. A similar method of the 'art of self-defence' is known in France as *la savate*; a French lieutenant we had with us in one of my Arctic cruises was an adept at the game.

From the Pegasus Byam Martin followed the Prince to the 32-gun frigate Andromeda, whose cruise closely resembled that of the Pegasus; and when she was paid off in July 1789, he was borne for four months on the books of the Colossus, before joining the Southampton in November (p. 133). As he makes no mention of the Colossus, we may presume that he never actually joined her, and that the time was spent on leave. In the Southampton, under the command of Captain Keats, he went to Gibraltar, where he was told of an amusing instance of General O'Hara's methods of enforcing discipline, and on his return passed his examination, 5th May, 1790, being then two months short of seventeen, and having been at sea just four years. Of course he produced the usual certificates, that he was twenty years of age and had been to sea for six years. The latter fiction was established by his name having

been borne on the books of various ships (p. 23), which he never saw, from 1780; and his age was substantiated, according to the custom of the day, by a certificate¹ that he was baptised in the parish church of Ashtead, Surrey, on 20th January, 1770.

Byam Martin was then ordered to join the Royal George, flag-ship of Admiral Barrington in the Spanish armament. His account of this armament is interesting, and his comments on the promptitude with which it was carried out are most suggestive. It was this promptitude, more perhaps than the threat of the force, which produced the desired effect, and proved that our navy is 'the best peacemaker in Europe.' It was fortunate that—in Pitt—we had a prime minister who understood the power of the navy. Byam Martin has recorded, as within his own knowledge, that 'it was no uncommon thing for Mr. Pitt to visit the Navy Office to discuss naval matters with the Comptroller; . . . he also desired to have a periodical statement from the Comptroller of the state of the fleet' (vol. iii. p. 381); and thus he was able, in six weeks (in 1790), to fit out a fleet that brought Spain to terms. I believe he was the only prime minister who understood the details and working of the navy, or ever visited the Navy Office. In 1837-40, at a time of great tension, and when France and Russia had powerful fleets in the Mediterranean, our ships were frequently six months in getting manned; and in 1855, during the Russian war, the *Desperate*, of which I was first lieutenant, left Sheerness, after

¹ This was to be obtained from the hall porter for a few shillings. See *Autobiography of Sir George Elliot*.

being three months in commission with only twelve petty officers and seamen, and half our complement of stokers, most of whom were sea-sick, so that the engineers had to assist with the fires. In the Downs our crew was completed by drafts from other ships ; but it was by no merit of our administrative system that they turned out an uncommonly smart set of men.

Byam Martin can scarcely have been mistaken in the anecdote of his promotion in October 1790 (pp. 143, 151), though the date given in the 'Navy List' is 22nd November. The following official dates of his other commissions will be convenient for reference :—

Commander	.	.	.	May 22, 1793
Captain	.	.	.	November 5, 1793
Rear-Admiral	.	.	.	August 1, 1811
Vice-Admiral	.	.	.	August 12, 1819
Admiral	.	.	.	July 22, 1830
Admiral of the Fleet	.	.	.	October 13, 1849
G.C.B.	.	.	.	March 3, 1830

After a short time in the Canada with Captain Conway, better known as Lord Hugh Seymour, and with Sir Erasmus Gower, Byam Martin was appointed to the Juno with Captain Samuel Hood, with whom he was afterwards so closely associated in the Baltic (vol. ii. *passim*). His narrative of the Juno's cruise (pp. 153 *et seq.*) is most interesting as an illustration of the way in which the officers of the old navy were trained to their splendid seamanship, and is, too, a valuable note of Hood's personal character. The fact of a frigate being employed in the suppression of smuggling marks the magnitude

of the illicit trade, as well as the audacity of those engaged in it. The later pages, relating to the visits of George III. and his family to the Juno, are new in their details ; and the story of how the King and Queen held a ‘council of war’ to discuss the proper way of going down the ladder to the lower deck (p. 167), with the conclusion of the adventure in the midshipmen’s berth, may stand alone against all the anecdotes which ‘Peter Pindar’ invented or improved on.

It is curious to note (p. 174) that in the spring of 1793, when Byam Martin had but little more than two years’ seniority as lieutenant, and, in actual fact, still wanted some months of being twenty years old, it was seriously proposed to have him appointed first lieutenant of the Victory, going out to the Mediterranean as Lord Hood’s flag-ship. At that date lieutenants were appointed by their commission to any ship, as first, second, third, and so on ; the commander-in-chief was virtually pledged to promote the lieutenants of the flag-ship in this order, and, as each vacancy occurred at the top of the list, all the lower numbers were fleeted up—by new commissions, which had to be paid for—and the newcomer, no matter what his seniority, joined as the junior, with the prospect—if all went well—of paying for six more lieutenant’s commissions before he obtained the privilege of paying for a commander’s. It is possible that Lord Hood did not quite approve of such a very young first lieutenant, and avoided any difficulty with the Comptroller—whose influence was very great—by the easy process of promoting Byam Martin off-hand. Although

at home, the promotion to command the *Tisiphone* was given by Hood. It was thus that he went out to the Mediterranean with Hood's fleet, and was detached on a special mission to Tunis and Tripoli (pp. 178 *et seq.*).

The failure of Hood's scheme for clearing the Mediterranean of all French ships in neutral ports unavoidably raises the question of how far an officer on detached service is bound, implicitly and literally, to obey his instructions. The court-martial on Captain Lumsdaine (pp. 349-52) decided that in this special case he was justified in departing from them, and left it to be inferred that, in the opinion of the court, Hood would have done well to take Lumsdaine into his confidence, and explain to him both what he wanted him to do and why he wanted him to do it. In the present day most commanders-in-chief would do this as a matter of course; but a hundred years ago such confidence between a commander-in-chief and his subordinates was very exceptional; and every student of our naval history will readily remember instances of well-laid plans failing in the execution, solely because the men who had to carry them out did not know or did not understand what it was they had to do. This was certainly the case in Rodney's action of the 17th April, 1780; and had probably a great deal to do with the court-martial on Captain Molloy after the battle of the First of June. Molloy was not a nice man to serve with (pp. 113-14), but he had never been spoken of as wanting in courage.

After the acquittal of Captain Lumsdaine, Byam Martin, whose promotion hung on the result, was

posted to the *Modeste*, a 36-gun frigate newly captured at Genoa by a small squadron under Rear-Admiral Gell, the opposition which she had the impertinence to offer to three ships of the line being summarily quashed by a volley of musketry which killed one man and wounded eight. French writers¹ have represented this as a wholesale massacre, which excused, if it did not warrant, as a measure of retaliation, the butchery, in cold blood, of the crew of the merchant brig *Peggy* nearly a year afterwards; in reality, this butchery was in accordance with the monstrous decree forced through the Convention by the ruffian Barère.

Byam Martin continued in the *Modeste* but for a short time. In the autumn of 1794, though too late to receive his father's last sigh—he returned to England, and was presently appointed to the temporary command of the *Artois* during the illness of Captain Nagle. It was then that he made the acquaintance and won the friendship of Sir John Borlase Warren, for many years in command of a frigate squadron on the coasts of France and Ireland, the victor over the French squadron under Bompard in 1798.

The details of Byam Martin's life for the next twelve years are very fully told in the letters here printed, as those for the following years are in the succeeding volumes. The capture of the *Tamise* (p. 266) and of the *Immortalité* (p. 276), the cutting out the Spanish gunboats at Corunna (p. 293), and the saving the crew of the *Venerable* (pp. 307-11),

¹ V. Brun, *Guerres Maritimes de la France; Port de Toulon*, vol. ii. p. 261.

were all actions of the highest merit in themselves, worthy preludes of that most remarkable exploit—the capture and burning of the Sevolod in presence of the whole Russian fleet (vol. ii. pp. 35 *et seq.*). Of all these, perhaps the cutting out of the ships at Corunna tells of the highest qualities. In the others, indeed, Byam Martin showed himself as a brilliant leader in action ; in this, rather as a careful, prudent chief, skilfully arranging all details, so as to ensure success, with the least possible risk and little or no loss. As a captain he appears on the record as second to none in that age of grand fighters ; but as an admiral he never commanded a fleet before the enemy, nor ever had part in a general action. His excellent service in the Baltic during the time of the French campaign in Russia (vol. ii. pp. 168-315), had indeed much to do with the terrible disaster to the French arms ; but it has not been generally recognised, and has added but little to his fame.

In vol. ii. p. 311, it is mentioned that the Tsar contemplated sending his fleet to England to be secure against any possibilities ; and in the Introduction to vol. iii. p. ix I was able to say that the fleet did actually come to the Medway, and remain there till the conclusion of the war. Although unrecorded in the 'Annual Register,' and unnoticed by later historians, its arrival was duly noticed by the daily press ; and by the kind assistance of Mr. Moberly Bell, of the *Times*, I am able to give the following details, with the accompanying speculation as to the meaning of it.

Morning Post, Friday, Dec. 11th, 1812.

‘Seven sail of the Russian Fleet are arrived at Yarmouth. When it was feared that the French would long before this time have overrun Russia, and advanced even to her shores, we could not but see in the determination of the Emperor Alexander to send his fleet to this country, an evidence of his resolution rather to suffer to the utmost extremity, than submit; but, as affairs are at present, and, indeed, have been at any time subsequent to Bonaparte’s attempt to retreat, we cannot assign this motive, and can suppose no other reason than a desire to render the co-operation of the two countries perfect and effectual against the common enemy; and we have no doubt that Ministers will make a vigorous and proper use of the addition thus made to the great naval force now at their disposal.’

The Times, Friday, Dec. 11th, 1812.

‘The Russian Fleet passed Yarmouth on Wednesday, with a fair wind, and might be expected at the Nore this day. They will proceed to Blackstakes, in the river Medway, and up to Chatham, where moorings are prepared for their reception.’

The Times, Saturday, Dec. 12th, 1812.

Sheerness, Dec. 10.

‘It is reported that four sail of the line of the Russian Fleet (being the headmost ships) are a few miles below the Nore.’

The Times, Monday, Dec. 14th, 1812.

‘The Russian Fleet, under the command of Admiral Tate, arrived at the Nore on Friday. Several of the ships have gone up to Chatham.

They are represented as fine-looking vessels. The Russian flag is white and green; the dress of the officers is white coats with green facings; they are, it is said, to be supplied with stores and provisions, including fresh beef, in the same manner as our own ships.'

In 1798 Byam Martin married Catherine, one of the daughters of Captain Robert Fanshawe, for many years resident Commissioner of the Navy at Plymouth (p. 222), and towards the end of his time one of the fathers of the navy, not only in the metaphorical and complimentary sense, but in actual fact. Of his three sons, two served in the navy; one died young (p. 300), the other attained high rank; and of nine daughters four married naval officers—Byam Martin, Sir J. C. White, Vice-Admiral W. Bedford, and the Hon. Sir Robert Stopford. The present Admiral Sir Edward Fanshawe is a grandson; Vice-Admiral Arthur Fanshawe, now commander-in-chief in Australian waters, is a great-grandson.

By his wife, Catherine (Kitty), Byam Martin had six children, three sons and three daughters. Of the last, Catherine, the eldest, married her cousin, Sir Henry Martin, the third baronet, but died without issue. The second daughter, Elizabeth, married General Francis John Davies, and left issue; the third daughter died unmarried. Of the sons, the youngest, Robert Fanshawe, a lieutenant-colonel in the army, died without issue in 1846; the second, Sir Henry Byam, an admiral, died unmarried in 1865; the eldest, Sir William Fanshawe, best known in the navy as 'Fly' Martin, commander-

in-chief in the Mediterranean 1861-2, was the senior admiral on the retired list, and rear-admiral of the United Kingdom at the time of his death in 1895. The baronetcy, which, on the death of his cousin Sir Henry and sister Catherine, without issue, had descended to him, passed on to his son, Sir Richard, the present baronet, to whom with his sisters and, more especially, his cousin, Lieutenant-General H. F. Davies, the Society is indebted for the present publication of their grandfather's papers.

I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to Professor Laughton, who has throughout assisted me in arranging the tangled mass of papers (vol. ii. p. vii), and in correcting the proof sheets; and to Mr. E. Salisbury, the Superintendent of the Public Room of the Record Office, and his staff, for the generous aid which they have given me in my researches—though, I believe, not more than they habitually give to all who call upon them in the hour of need.

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JOURNALS AND LETTERS
OF ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET
SIR T. BYAM MARTIN

REMINISCENCES AND NOTES

IN 1780 my father was included in the patent as a Commissioner of the Navy,¹ and appointed resident commissioner at Portsmouth, in succession to Sir Samuel Hood, afterwards Lord Hood, so created after the battle of the 12th of April, 1782, with Count de Grasse.

Sir Samuel Hood was appointed second in command under Sir George Rodney, an eager and active volunteer for a service which promised an opportunity to gratify his ardent love of professional fame. He sailed in the Barfleur of 98 guns, a second-rate of that day, carrying her ports about

¹ A Commissionership of the Navy was a civil appointment, and a naval officer, holding one, was on half pay without executive rank. The resident commissioners at the dockyards were always senior captains who accepted the well-paid civil appointment, instead of waiting for their flag on the active list. It was commonly understood as equivalent to retirement, and Hood's promotion from it was altogether exceptional.

2 *JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF*

4 feet out of the water, but she did her work well in the smooth-water seas in which she was subsequently engaged.

I have been told by a person who was present¹ that when Sir George Rodney heard of Sir Samuel Hood's appointment he said, 'They might as well send me an old apple-woman.' And on the same authority it is stated that, when Sir Samuel reached the quarter-deck of the Sandwich, the commander-in-chief cordially embraced him, saying, 'You are the man of all others I have most desired to have as my second!' Lord Rodney had the credit of being a refined courtier, and could say civil, insincere things, with so winning a grace that people were apt to take his flattering unction at a greater value than it deserved. A frank and kind address, whether in public or in private life, is much to be commended, but when it is the false covering of inward prejudices, it is a very detestable species of hypocrisy.

Rodney, shame upon him! had a sad propensity to wound with harsh reflections even men of known worth, when their backs were turned, and who consequently could not right themselves, because they knew not of the wrong done to them. It was

¹ Admiral Sir Joseph Yorke. In December 1781 he joined the Formidable, Rodney's flag-ship, as a midshipman, and may there have heard these yarns; but at the time that Hood went out to the West Indies he was a midshipman of the Duke in the Channel fleet. It is, however, a fact that, on learning the appointment, Rodney wrote to Hood:—'It gives me the highest satisfaction that the Admiralty have appointed you to serve with me, as I know no one whatever that I should have wished in preference to my old friend, Sir Samuel Hood, who, I hope, will believe me when I assure him that I shall ever be with real truth and sincerity his affectionate and most obedient humble servant.' But notwithstanding this, in their later relations there was a good deal of friction and intense bitterness. See *Letters of Sir Samuel Hood* (N.R.S. vol. iii.), *passim*.

a bad habit of saying sharp things, and rather than lose the occasion, he would let fly the shaft wherever it could seem most to sting ; it was not that he purposely sought men of worth upon whom to exercise such infliction, but it was an unguarded habit which made his censures so indiscriminate. I wish I did not observe too frequent a manifestation of this spirit amongst brother officers ; and still more do I wish that I was more guarded against it myself.

But to go back to the second migration of my family, the first having been soon after I was born.

I was at the time with my brother at school at Freshford, about four miles from Bath, under Mr. Batchelor ; the late Admiral Sir Francis Laforey was one of the senior boys at the school. The family having left Bath, it was arranged that Mr. Batchelor should take charge of my brother and myself on the journey, and in spite of a bitter cold day in February 1781, we set forth with joyful hearts to see more of the world than had ever been our lot before.

Why we took the road to Gosport is more than I can tell, but so it was arranged, and the Commissioner's barge was in waiting at Gosport ready to convey us across the harbour to the dockyard. This was the first time my eyes ever lighted on a ship of war, of which several of the largest class were occupying moorings immediately fronting us as we walked down to the beach at Gosport. I have at this moment a distinct recollection of the utter amazement with which I beheld these monsters of the deep. I was so riveted to the spot, so perfectly motionless when I got out of the carriage, so absorbed in wonder, that I should have been there the whole day if they had not sent one of the boat's crew to fetch me down.

In going across the harbour we passed close under the stern of the old Royal George. It was the first time I ever floated on salt water ; the first hundred-gun ship I ever saw. Ye gods ! what a sight—what a sensation ! I feel it now as I write, and if I live to the age of Methuselah it will remain unimpaired, and even fresh to the last moment. It is impossible to forget the breathless astonishment and delight with which my eyes were fixed upon this ship. Nothing so exquisitely touching has ever occurred to me since to produce the same frantic joy. After the first exclamation of extasy I for a time spoke not a word ; overwhelmed by a thousand feelings, and almost motionless, until presently, as we approached nearer to the Royal George, and went closely under her richly carved stern, I broke into a rapid succession of questions, and jumping about, and almost springing out of the hands of the strokesman of the boat, who held me as I stood on the seat, I was told I should tumble into the sea if I was not quiet. What nonsense ! Who could be quiet under such circumstances ?

I remember old John Allen, who had been Sir Samuel Hood's coxswain when commodore¹ in America, and then in the same capacity in my father's boat, said, 'I see, sir, you are already determined to be a sailor.' He never spoke a truer word, for the first comment of my mind fixed in an instant, and for ever, that determination.

John Allen was a fine sample of a sailor of the old school : a manly, fine-looking fellow, with a large flaxen wig, having some loose ends, and from the impression I have of its appearance, I am in some doubt whether it had its origin in the oakum-house of the dockyard or a barber's shop. I

¹ Commodore and commander-in-chief in North America, 1767-69.

ought to have a better recollection of this, for old Allen was long afterwards my friend and great ally, to whom I used to go whenever I could, to get out of him some old sea story. Allen used to market for the family, and had a room in the house to keep his accounts, very much to my amusement and edification, so that whenever I was missing, the first search for me was in Allen's room.

Having for the first time planted my foot within a dockyard, I found myself surrounded by the most busy, delightful scenes imaginable. Everything seemed to be in motion, and the clatter of the shipwrights' hammers was a music quite in harmony with the notions I had picked up in my voyage across the harbour. All this was going on at a period of the war¹ which called for great exertions, and everything I saw, everything I heard, inflamed my mind with the wildest desire to be afloat ; it was altogether a sad disturbance to quiet school habits in a country village, and very unfriendly to future academic pursuits. The busy, bustling scene often comes to my recollection like the renewal of a pleasant dream. There were the officers of the ships flying from place to place to hasten off stores ; the ships loosing their sails to go out of harbour—signals up, guns firing ; and there was, alas ! the torturing sight of little midshipmen, scarcely bigger than myself, swelled into all the importance of men in authority. This vanity was more than the flesh and blood of boy could stand. I was at once a prey to the most envious feelings, and altogether so unsettled at the sight of these consequential officers as to be utterly unfit for anything. Who will be surprised, after all this, when I say that the schoolmaster made but an unsatisfactory report of my application to book business ?

¹ The War of American Independence, 1776-83.

6 *JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF*

My father, the kindest man living, tender to his children even to a fault, reproved me at first in his gentle way, which failing to produce any outward and visible effect, recourse was had to stronger language, with divers threats of deprivations of former encouraging indulgences ; he even touched the vital chord by saying he would not allow me to go to sea if I did not pay more attention to my book ; but

He might as well have thought to bind,
In chains of silk, the lawless wind.

The excitement had been too great, and the young mind too ardent upon the one and all-absorbing notion of a glorious sea life ; otherwise education, bad as the school system then was, might have been turned to better account with me. Reflection, too often the tardy monitor of man in things temporal as well as eternal, never fails to bring with it its sorrowing influence when looking back on so many ill-spent, unprofitable years. I make my confession of it now in the hope that any youthful reader of these pages may take warning, and learn to know the value of time and assiduity in early life. It cost me many bitter feelings when I began to be sensible of the degradation which attached to me, as the son of a gentleman, without a suitable education, and I am indebted to this early sense of shame for the little that has been redeemed of that precious time by double diligence since. But I blame the masters full as much as the boy in my case. In every school I was at, there was the want of a uniform steady course of discipline and instruction, a want of judgment, and withal an indolence which unfitted the masters for the care of children.¹

¹ Even now, I think that money-making rather than educating occupies the thoughts of too many schoolmasters—if I may judge

My father, who was himself a highly educated man, took infinite pains to find out the best schools, and Dr. Mant's¹ at Southampton, and Mr. Coles's at Guildford, had at the time the highest reputation, but both were thought better of than they deserved, particularly the latter.

I have been travelling too fast, and have been speaking of my going to Guildford in 1783, or I believe 1782, without having noticed the high honour I had in the year 1780 or 1781, I forget which, when I had first the honour to make my humble reverence to his present Majesty, then Prince William Henry.

In the summer of one of those years the Prince arrived at my father's house in Portsmouth Dock-yard, and remained there until the Prince George, of 90 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Digby, was ready to sail.² His Royal Highness served in the same ship before, and was present at the capture of Don Langara by the fleet under Sir George Rodney, on the 16th of January, 1780. The ship in which the Prince served was not so fortunate as to have much share in the battle, which, in fact, was a running fight, and consequently only a few ships were engaged. The Prince George had one man killed and three wounded. This is the only time the Prince was in action, as his presence on board the Warwick, of 50 guns, Captain Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith, in company with the Lion, of 64 guns, and two smaller vessels, at the capture of L'Aigle, French frigate, cannot be called an action—the surrender to so superior a

by some who, starting on a small scale, can afford to buy large estates after a comparatively brief career.

¹ Rev. Richard Mant, D.D., master of King Edward's Grammar School.

² She sailed in August 1781.

force on the fire of one broadside. She was one of the largest frigates of that date.

The Prince was accompanied to Portsmouth by General Bude,¹ an old and respectable German—one of George the Third's household and a great favourite at Court. The King, notwithstanding his memorable words in his first speech to Parliament, 'Born a Briton, I glory in the name,' had an hereditary partiality to his German subjects, which he could not help showing somewhat to the mortification of his English courtiers, and in no instance was this more conspicuous than in his marked attachment to this good old Hanoverian.

I remember full well being drawn up with my brothers and sisters in the entrance hall of the house, then occupied by the Commissioner,² to receive his Royal Highness, and there, at eight years old, I first made my tutored bow to him; the Prince was then sixteen, dressed in his midshipman's uniform and wearing the star of the Order of the Garter. He was a fine-looking youth with a florid complexion, light hair, and a pleasing countenance, but of squat form. Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence, now at a more advanced age, is a bad specimen of what his father was in 1781.

The Prince was very animated in his manner and conversation; perhaps in an humbler individual it might have passed under another name. It was a something which my memory and more matured judgment tells me required the wholesome check of a little man-of-war discipline, moderated perhaps by some degree of consideration for his station in life. This was no easy task, though an important duty, for the Admiral to whose charge he was committed;

¹ Bewdie in MS.

² The commissioner's new house, now occupied by the naval commander-in-chief, was not built till 1788.

and, but for his Royal Highness's infinite good fortune in meeting such men as Sir Richard Keats and Sir Thomas Foley as lieutenants on board the Prince George, his youthful spirits and propensities might not have been checked with such good judgment.

Many of the midshipmen on board the Prince George at the time have since been an honour and an ornament to our service—Sir Robert Stopford, Sir Arthur Legge, Admiral Oliver, &c. My eldest brother Samuel was also a midshipman on board the Prince George, and died in the West Indies the July following the battle of the 12th of April, 1782.

The sort of respect, ceremony, and submission shown to a boy of the Prince's age by my father and the other official elders quite astonished my young mind, and made me think it could scarcely be a human being to whom such adulation was due. Even now, in maturer years, though the necessity of observing marked distinctions and keeping up the ceremony of respect between the grades of rank (particularly professional rank) has my fullest acknowledgment and approbation, I cannot help thinking that royal infants are set up too much like idols, and that consequently pride and presumption (bad passions) are early implanted, and cherished with rival zeal by the many sycophants who find their way about a court often to its great discredit, while others of nobler minds, who enjoy the royal favour, do their service with a dignity and integrity of purpose that disdains the mean pursuits of those who cruise for the sake of what they can squeeze. I declare I have shuddered at times when I have seen the approach to royalty putting on so much the form of adoration.

The great respect shown to the young Prince by my father and others we looked on with amaze-

ment, almost doubting if the youth could be of the same flesh and blood as ourselves. This, however, was but a transient thought, for the Prince had only been a few days in the house when my brother Joe and myself were for proceeding to some practical experiments likely to solve the doubt. By some misadventure originating with the Prince, we contrived to pick a quarrel with the royal visitor in the garden behind the house which, in the sequel, led to the royal hand being more familiar with our heads than we were disposed to submit to, and loud and angry words issued forth on both sides, in which it is but due to the Prince to acknowledge that he was much ahead of us in the vulgar tongue.

This affair threatened in its progress rather disagreeable consequences, and it soon became pretty clear that it would terminate to our disadvantage. If it were to be settled by the pugnacious contest we were endeavouring to provoke, the odds were greatly in favour of a youth of fifteen against two children—my brother ten, and myself but little more than eight years old. On the other hand we knew full well that if my father was to be a party to any negotiation for a reconciliation, his offended feelings might insist on certain pains and penalties very humiliating to persons of our warlike character.

Without being tedious by entering into the precise history of this quarrel, I shall only say it arrived at such a pitch that we were for proceeding to business without delay, not being much acquainted with Court etiquette, or particularly nice in our notions of hospitality, to say nothing of other considerations which entitled his Royal Highness to a more agreeable sort of entertainment. In this state of the business General Bude, alarmed

by the loud and threatening language on both sides, came forth from his room as a reasonable and acceptable mediator. Not so my father ; he too, roused from his business by the noise, came bustling to the field of battle with an appearance and gesture of great wrath, chiefly shown by his uplifted gold-headed cane, and menacing advance to the ground occupied by my brother and myself. My good father was the mildest and kindest creature on earth, and to see him in such wrath, or at least to sham it so well, made us think the shaking cane no joke ; but whether this, or the novelty of his reproachful tone, or both, his presence had a much greater influence than the threat of a royal thrashing, which we perhaps deserved, and no doubt should have had, in so unequal a contest. On the whole the affair ended more favourably to the coalesced party than might have been expected. My father scolded us in severe terms, while the General, who took a more equitable view of the case, did not let the royal belligerent off without a suitable lecture.

This was a most unpropitious commencement with the Prince, who was so soon to be my captain. What impression it made upon his mind I cannot tell, but he has often, and very lately, asked me if I recollect old General Bude, and this in so significant a manner as to make me suppose the affair in the garden was in his recollection.

Nothing throughout the royal family is more remarkable than their wonderful retentiveness of memory—a very great advantage, and where there is the disposition, it enables them to make pleasant reference to matters flattering to the feelings of people. Things the most trivial, which would never find a resting-place in ordinary heads, are treasured up in royal heads with wonderful and

unfading fidelity. I could mention many instances of it ; the most recent will perhaps be sufficient. I had the honour to be in his Majesty's presence a short time before his death at a dinner party, when suddenly and without reference to any preceding conversation, he said—‘Sir Byam, do you recollect falling asleep when in the act of pulling off your stocking, from the effect of excessive fatigue ? I recollect it so well that I have you now before me with the stocking across one leg to help pull it off, and in that attitude you were sound asleep.’ I was taken by surprise by the question, and until assisted by his Majesty I confess I did not recollect it, but he soon brought it to my perfect recollection although it had happened forty-eight years before. This may well warrant my belief that his Majesty had an unimpaired recollection of my sins in the garden.

As frequent reference may be made to the ships in which the Prince served in the course of what I may have to say, it may be convenient at once to state the date of his professional *début*, and his subsequent appointments.

It appears by the books of his Majesty's ship the Prince George that his Royal Highness's first entry was the 14th June, 1779, when he was at once entered as an A.B., that is an able seaman.

It was probably thought derogatory to give the Prince the customary rating in those days to a young gentleman first entering the service, namely captain's servant,¹ but there could be nothing de-

¹ This customary rating of ‘captain's servant’ has led many—Macaulay among others—to suppose that a boy, so styled, was necessarily of very humble origin and in a menial position. It was then, as B. Martin here explains—and had been since the days of Queen Elizabeth, or earlier—the ordinary and recognised way for a young gentleman to enter the navy. A midshipman was expected to be a capable petty officer.

rogatory in giving him the noble title of an able seaman before a salt-water spray had yet given him his naval christening.

On the 10th of January, 1780, his Royal Highness was rated midshipman.

The 3rd of November, 1781, he was discharged from the Prince George to the Barfleur, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood (afterwards Lord Hood).

When the Barfleur was ordered to the West Indies the Prince was lent to the Warwick, of 50 guns, Captain Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith, on the North American station. He subsequently rejoined the Barfleur, I believe, and returned to England on the termination of the war in 1783, when he was discharged into the Queen, of 98 guns, Captain Maitland, and went away to London on leave of absence, and so remained until the completion of the customary period of service as midshipman, that is six years.

On the 16th of June, 1785, his Royal Highness was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and immediately appointed to the Hebe, of 38 guns, Captain Edward Thornbrough (now Sir Edward), an illiterate man, but a good seaman, and at the time cruised with great activity and success against the smugglers which then frequented our coasts.

On the 28th of March, 1786, the Prince was appointed¹ first lieutenant of the Pegasus, of 28 guns,

¹ In those days lieutenants were appointed to ships as first, second, third, and so on, and so named in their respective commissions. The junior lieutenant was styled in his commission 'Lieutenant at arms,' and it was his special duty to train the seamen to the use of the musket ! In flag-ships it often happened that the lieutenant junior in rank stood by appointment senior in the ship. It will be seen further on (*post*, p. 174) that it was in contemplation to appoint B. Martin first lieutenant of the Victory, Lord Hood's flag-ship, in 1793, when he was only twenty years old.

a small ship of about 500 tons. On the 14th or 16th of April following he was appointed captain of the Pegasus.

During the short time he held the position of first lieutenant, Captain H. Harvey (the late Sir Henry), who was at the time captain of the Rose, of 28 guns, was also appointed to act as captain of the Pegasus, perhaps the only instance on record of a captain commanding two ships at the same time ; a plurality much more excusable under the circumstances than a plurality of Church preferment, for the two ships were close together in Hamoaze.¹

On the 13th of March, 1788, on his return from the West Indies, the Prince was appointed to the Andromeda, of 32 guns, greatly disappointed that his request to have the Melampus was refused by Lord Howe. Andromeda was paid off the 15th of July, 1789.

On the 12th of May, 1790, the Prince commissioned the Valiant, of 74 guns, and paid her off the 27th of November following, at the close of the Spanish Armament.

On the 3rd of December, 1790, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and created Duke of Clarence.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1793 the London, of 98 guns, was fitted out by Captain Keats (now Sir Richard) for the reception of his Royal Highness's flag. The London was the best manned ship, the best commanded, and the best officered we ever had, and but for politics, that bane and curse of military men, the Duke in such a ship

¹ Harvey was appointed to the Rose on the 9th of March, and joined her on the 23rd. His name does not appear in the pay book of the Pegasus, so that he did not get the pecuniary advantage of the plurality.

would have been a flag-officer in the battle of the 1st of June, 1794.

The first use he made of a seat in Parliament, as Duke of Clarence, was to range himself in the ranks of those opposed to the King's Government. But, not satisfied with this sufficiently silly proceeding, he had the superlative culpable folly to make himself conspicuous in his hostility to the war measures of the minister, then in active preparation, and which opened to his Royal Highness a field of glory that ought to have engrossed all his thoughts, and pointed to him the nobler pursuits of his profession. He even went so far as to make a speech in the House of Lords condemnatory of the minister's proceedings.

Mr. Pitt was not a sort of man to be trifled with in this way ; he went forthwith to the King to tell his Majesty that a political admiral, and one who thought the war objectionable, was not a proper person to be placed as a flag-officer in the grand fleet, and therefore insisted that his Royal Highness should not be so employed.

It was said, and I believe truly, that his Majesty was very anxious to send the Duke beyond the contaminating influence of Carlton House, where an association of able, witty, agreeable, mischievous whigs, headed by Mr. Fox, Sheridan, Burke, &c., had captivated the heir apparent, and set him up as the influential head of their faction ; and on this ground the King urged the sending off the royal sailor, to scatter his politics to the winds of the ocean. Mr. Pitt, however, would not yield, and was so decided and peremptory that orders went by the post of that evening to turn over the crew of the London to other ships, and her captain was appointed to the Niger, of 32 guns.

It is said when the devil wants to ruin a man

he puts a pen into his hand, but the putting politics into the head of soldiers or sailors seems equally pernicious ; yet how many are betrayed by the silly vanity, while others take it up to try what they can get by it for their own individual benefit—a pretty common propensity of our nature.

The Duke of Clarence never served after this memorable piece of folly, by which he lost the glory of taking a share in the eventful and enterprising war, which lasted from 1793 to 1815. It was reserved for him to spend twenty-five years in idle dissipation on shore, and to resume his naval career when peace gave every other officer a desire to be quiet.

It was on the 19th of April, 1814, that his Royal Highness hoisted the union flag, as admiral of the fleet, on board the Impregnable, of 98 guns, having under his command the Jason frigate and two or three smaller vessels, to parade Louis XVIII to Calais on his restoration to the throne of France. The union was struck on the 29th of the same month.

On the 17th of May it was again displayed on board the Impregnable, Captain Henry Blackwood,¹ and continued flying until the 28th of June. This was during the time the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and some German Princes visited England, and were present at the view of the fleet at Spithead—a truly grand spectacle at which one might suppose the whole world to have been assembled, for on returning on shore no part of the soil could be seen along the shore from Fort Monckton to Blockhouse Point, or from Southsea Castle to the King's Battery ; all was a mass of human heads, rending the very skies with their cheers. Afloat the crowd of vessels and boats was equally striking,

¹ Captain of the Euryalus at Trafalgar.

and altogether presented such a scene as was never witnessed before, or ever will be again probably.

When the sovereigns were on board the Impregnable, the pleasure boats, holding on by the ship, gathered round her in such numbers that I remember remarking at the time that they covered a circle of a cable's length (600 feet), and when the signal was made for all flag-officers to repair on board the Impregnable, it was with the greatest difficulty the officers of the ship could make the boats put off to let the admirals pull up to the steps.

The admirals present on the occasion were :—

His Royal Highness, the Admiral of the Fleet.

Admiral Sir R. Bickerton.

Vice-Admiral Sir George Martin.

Vice-Admiral Sir F. Laforey.

Rear-Admiral Sir Harry Neale.

Rear-Admiral Sir Byam Martin.

Rear-Admiral Foote.

The admirals were called on board the Impregnable to pay their duty to the Prince Regent, and to be presented to the sovereigns ; and this done, we returned to our respective ships previous to getting under way, and in the order of sailing I had to lead the fleet, my flag being on board the Montagu, 74 guns, Captain Peter Heywood.¹

In the space of time which we were on board the commander-in-chief's ship, two things occurred not much calculated to produce a favourable impression of our service on the minds of those

¹ He was a midshipman on board the *Bounty*, was tried as a mutineer, and condemned to death ; was pardoned by the exertions of a sister, and, his innocence being eventually proved, was restored to the service, in which he attained distinction.

who were prepared to see everything connected with the navy with admiration, knowing how greatly it had contributed to the glorious termination of the war. The yards of the Impregnable were manned on the coming on board at the moment of some royal personage, and something real, or imaginary, struck the Admiral of the Fleet as wrong, or careless, by one of the men on the fore topgallant yard ; whereupon his Royal Highness, who had been before pretty vehement in the use of a speaking trumpet, sent forth at the unfortunate man the most tremendous volley of oaths I ever heard ; it quite made one shudder to hear such blasphemy. But it was taken in a very different light by the Prince Regent, who turned at the sound of these oaths to Lord Melville, the first lord of the admiralty, and said, 'What an excellent officer William is !' I could not stand this, but went off to the poop with a brother admiral fully disgusted, but unable to restrain a laugh at so ridiculous an estimate of the excellence of an officer. It would have been well if Lord Melville had vindicated the character of our profession, and could at the moment have presented the Regent with the first article of war, which is pretty nearly as follows : ' All officers in or belonging to the fleet who shall be guilty of profane oaths, cursing, execrations, or other scandalous actions, in derogation of God's honour and corruption of good manners, shall be punished as a court-martial may inflict.' Lord Melville was probably ignorant of any such article of war.¹

The other occurrence was a vulgar degradation to our quarter-deck, which I witnessed with sorrow, surrounded as we were by such personages. The

¹ It cannot be said that the article was generally obeyed, even at a very much later period.

Prince said to his Court buffoon, Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Nagle, 'Nagle, I am now on board a man-of-war and should like to take the opportunity to drink a genuine glass of grog ; I wish you would get me one.' 'Yes, and plase your Royal Highness and it shall be a good one ;' so off he went and speedily brought up what he thought would be agreeable to his master's palate—a real stiff glass of grog. The Prince, who from the beginning intended only one of his jokes, said, 'Nagle, this is very poor stuff indeed ; if it is what you call grog, try if you can make it better,' so off he went muttering, 'By my faith I'll bring him up a sneezer !' This amended glass was still objected to as imperfect, so another trip to the bottle was necessary, and Nagle at length returned with unadulterated brandy. The Prince put his lips to it and said, 'Nagle, you are joking with me.' 'By my faith,' he replied, 'I can assure your Royal Highness there is nothing but brandy in it.' 'Then,' says the Prince, 'you shall drink it off, for I asked for grog,' and thus ended this very ill-timed joke.

To complete what I was saying of the Duke of Clarence's services, I may state that, out of fifty-one years from the date of his entering the navy to the time of his ascending the throne, he was professionally employed ten years, nine months, and three weeks, including the long time he was on leave of absence when borne as a midshipman on board the Queen, which I think must have been full a year and half, and I think this time was spent in Germany.

When the Prince went on shore in 1789, after paying off the *Andromeda*, he left me a midshipman ; when he again appeared in our element for a few weeks in 1814, with the union at the main, he

found me a flag-officer, and leading his fleet in the manœuvres that took place.¹

Before I close this memoir of the Prince's several appointments I may refer again to the time when, in 1785, he was a lieutenant on board the *Hebe*. Being chiefly on the Portsmouth station, and the ship frequently in port, his Royal Highness became an intimate visitor, or, I should rather say, an inmate at my father's house. This went on many months, and it rarely happened that a day passed without a large party at dinner, so that the Commissioner, with his eight children, paid dearly for the honour. It was, however, an attention due not only to the Prince, but to the officers of the army and navy, and neighbouring gentry, who were entitled to be brought as much as possible into the royal presence; besides my father loved society, and was ever given to a liberal hospitality, while a pleasing affability gave an agreeable cheerfulness to his table.

During the Prince's continuance in the *Hebe*, which lasted to March 1786, a circumstance occurred of a nature exceedingly embarrassing to my father, being nothing less than his Royal Highness's declared attachment to my sister Sarah. She was young, handsome, exceedingly attractive and interesting in her manners, with an excellent understanding and a well-cultivated mind; but there was nothing at the time, or through life, which so marked her character and so endeared her to her friends as her exemplary propriety of conduct in every worldly duty. This predominant grace, the offspring of a pious, well-regulated mind, shone forth in its best colours in this hour of temptation and trial. She

¹ The Prince, however, had repeatedly wished to serve during the war, but neither the Admiralty nor the King would allow it. Cf. vol. iii. p. 304.

felt the compliment of such professions of attachment, but she felt also, and above every other consideration, that the spark which had lighted up this hitherto latent feeling must be instantly extinguished. It was therefore at once decided by my father and Sarah, that she should forthwith set off to an uncle and aunt in London.

This heavenly minded woman, for such she really was, died in 1827,¹ and lies buried by the side of my father and mother at Loughton, in Essex. Never was any person more regretted or one whose memory is more precious to the recollection of a family who still delight to dwell on her excellent qualities, and gained so much by the example of her sweet and cheerful disposition. Though suffering much from a long continuance of ill-health, she took a lively and agreeable share in conversation.

My father's conduct throughout the delicate affair I have mentioned was marked by a deep sense of duty to his sovereign, and to his daughter, and his Majesty's warmest approbation was conveyed to him by letters now in the possession of the family; indeed it was impossible to be otherwise, for nothing could be more strictly correct and creditable than all he did in so peculiar a position. Several letters² from the Prince to my father have been preserved, but never seen by anyone out of the family; at this distance of time, however, I should consider it no impropriety to do so, still less to refer to them in any way I please. The letters are profuse in expressions of gratitude to my father for his 'long-continued kindness,' which, adds the Prince, 'has made an impression on my heart that

¹ In 1826, unmarried. She was buried on the 30th of December.

² These letters were left directed to me on the death of my sister, Mrs. Bastard.—T. B. M. See *post*, pp. 205-16.

never can be removed.' A mighty pretty flash this of princely condescension and affection, but it was the transient feeling of the moment, of which no trace could be found in after life. In another letter he volunteers to tell my father, ' I shall ever take the warmest interest in the welfare of your family ; ' but I can truly say not one of the family ever received the slightest act of kindness from him—happily they had nothing to ask—and never received the slightest mark of attention or notice from him, although the opportunities were not wanting. It is to be lamented for the credit of his Royal Highness that all the warm expressions of friendship for my father only tend to prove the prescient wisdom that warns us ' not to put any trust in princes.'

I know it has been thought that I owe my early promotion in the service to the favour and influence of this Prince, but I can with perfect truth put in my disclaimer to any such benefit. I never did, directly or indirectly, receive the slightest mark of grace, or goodwill, whereby his Royal Highness might have claimed the merit of redeeming a pledge which my father undoubtedly received with perfect confidence in its sincerity. I have seen it stated in writing, on the authority of one who might have known better, that I received the Grand Cross of the Bath from my friend the sovereign, William IV. The perfect answer to this is, that I received that honour from his royal predecessor, whose funeral I was summoned to attend as a Grand Cross of the Bath. The date of my nomination is the 3rd of March, 1830 ; William IV ascended the throne in June following.

I have before stated that the Prince was appointed to the command of the Pegasus in April 1786, and to my great joy I was sent from the

academy to join the ship at Plymouth.¹ I was then twelve and a half years, which is too young for much to have been obtained in the way of education ; but in a well-regulated man-of-war, with a good schoolmaster, a boy is under better discipline, and the master has the opportunity to apply practically his theoretical instruction, which is a great advantage.

The Portsmouth academy was not well conducted, for although the masters were excellent each in his particular branch, yet a want of method tended much to waste their labours. Mr. Baily, the headmaster, was one of the astronomers who accompanied our accomplished navigator, Captain Cook ; he rose from very humble parentage, and told me himself that in early life he was at the plough's tail. When I returned to England in command of the *Dictator*, 1797, I called on Mr. Baily, who had retired from the academy. He told me he was comfortable in his circumstances, but in wretched solitude, having lost in a few years his wife and seven children, all of them remarkably well-looking, and when I had last seen them had the appearance of excellent health ; but consumption carried them off in rapid succession, except one who was killed when serving as a midshipman on board the *Amelia*.

There was an excellent second mathematical master, Mr. Bradley, and a first-rate French master, M. Charrier, but still there was a screw loose somewhere, and the machinery did not work well.

¹ 'In accordance with the irregular custom of the day, Byam Martin, before he was ten, was borne on the books of the *Canada*, Captain William Cornwallis, in 1780-1 ; in 1782, of the *Foudroyant*, Captain Sir John Jervis, and in 1783, of the *Orpheus*, Captain George Campbell. His personal connection with the navy began in August 1785, when he was entered at the Naval Academy at Portsmouth. He first went afloat in April 1786, as captain's servant on board the *Pegasus*.—*Dictionary of National Biography*.

At the college as now conducted under Professor Inman, things go on much better, and many young men are sent forth with high attainments ; yet on the whole I am inclined to think a well-regulated man-of-war, and a really good schoolmaster, and where the captain really takes an interest about his boys, is a preferable course of education. The keeping a boy at college until he is seventeen years old involves also a luxury of a visit at home twice a year ; thus a boy is too much pampered with the good things of the world to bear patiently with the rough fare of the cockpit, and perhaps too fine a gentleman to think the smell of a tar barrel fit for his lavendered nose.¹

But I am told reform—I will not say improvement—has found its way into the cockpit, and that even luxury in the mode of living in a midshipman's mess is now the object of rivalry in the different ships. The rivalry with midshipmen is no longer smartness of professional duties, but in frivolous effeminacy, incompatible with what we wish and expect in the character of seamen.² If we do not, above every other consideration, train young men so as to make them real, practical seamen, the consequences may be truly awful to the country. We must keep ahead of every other nation in everything that relates to the navy ; if once we lose sight of so sound a maxim, farewell to our naval glory. Holland was once a great naval nation, and on some occasions made us feel that she was so ; but she grew lax and indifferent upon naval affairs

¹ The Naval Academy was established in 1730, and abolished in 1837 on the introduction of Naval Instructors. My examination by one on entry in 1843 lasted less than half an hour ; the medical examination was stricter.

² James Hannay's novels and novelettes referring to the service in the early forties of last century seem to corroborate this statement.

during a long peace, and has never been able to reinstate herself as a formidable maritime power.

I will not close the subject without acknowledging, and I do so most gratefully, that I never met with a captain more anxiously devoted to the improvement of his youngsters in all professional matters than his Royal Highness ; he made them learn their duty ; whether the leaden-headed or light-headed, none could escape the rigid enforcement of his rules of instruction. From nine in the morning until noon we were engaged with the schoolmaster, and never left unoccupied during the rest of the day. It will be well for the service if all who served under his Royal Highness followed his example in this instance, in training the young gentlemen under their command, while they may have profited also from the warnings to be derived from his conduct in other respects.

The strictness of the Prince as a captain, in his efforts to make us learn our duty, exacted so much as to be harassing, almost to torture, so that as growing boys we had scarcely strength for the work he took out of us. Two midshipmen were stationed in each top ; and the youngest (which was myself) in the maintop had always to go to the topmast head when a topgallant sail, royal, or studding-sail was to be set, or taken in ; and this too, very frequently, whether it was our watch on deck or not. I was stationed three years in the maintop, and I may say I almost lived there. Often did I take my piece of salt beef and biscuit up to dine there ; and when in the West Indies I frequently slept in the top, which was indeed no hardship, but a luxury compared to the heat of the lower-deck, which is intolerable in a hot climate.

I am of opinion a young gentleman ought to be fairly afloat before he is fourteen years of age, to

give him a chance of becoming a thorough practical seaman ; and instead of six years, let five in a sea-going ship be sufficient to qualify for a lieutenant ; he must become habituated to the roughness of a sea life before he has tasted too freely, and too long, of the softer charms of domestic life. In this respect the army has a great advantage. Those destined for that service need not leave their academic pursuits until the age of eighteen, and are consequently well educated, and better prepared for the duties of statesmen, and the civil affairs of the public departments.¹

It is impossible to deny as a general axiom that the mind the most cultivated is the best qualified to do credit to any State employment which good fortune may chance to throw in a man's way. We have, however, to boast of splendid instances of men who went to sea at the age of twelve and thirteen, who by self-education rendered themselves ornaments to our profession, and worthy of bearing comparison with the most distinguished statesmen and diplomats of the age ; namely, Lord St. Vincent, Lord Nelson, Lord Collingwood, Lord Exmouth, Sir Richard Keats, Sir George Cockburn—*cum multis aliis*. And it is very remarkable that there is scarcely an instance of a naval officer faltering in any position of perplexity and difficulty ; they have always, on such occasions, acquitted themselves with credit and with honour to their country.²

Some people think it would be to the advantage of the service and the country if a naval officer occupied the position of first lord of the admiralty, instead of handing the navy over to some political

¹ But the War Office is certainly not as well managed as the Admiralty.

² The Cretan business, settled by Sir Gerard Noel's fearlessness of responsibility, may be cited as a modern instance of this.

civilian. It may be fairly said that a professional man must best know the true interests of the service, and would have a personal pride in promoting its prosperity and honour. It may also be said that a civilian might better understand the management of the army than the navy ; he might have some general knowledge of the former, but he cannot possibly know anything of the navy, and must be content to walk by the leading-strings of the less responsible person, the naval officer next under him. But more of this hereafter ; I have much to say about it.

George III was so rigid in his notions of adhering to professional rules, and so anxious that his own family should be made to show an example in completing the required period of naval apprenticeship, that he would not permit Prince William to be promoted until he had completed his six years. Perhaps Lord Howe, the then first lord of the admiralty, had something to say to this strict fulfilment of a midshipman's time.

It was not so in the case of the late Duke of Cumberland, George III's brother. He went to sea in the *Venus* frigate on first entering the navy, with Captain the Honourable Samuel Barrington, and in six months hoisted his flag in the same ship, with Barrington as his captain, thus completely turning the tables on him. The Duke died with his flag at the main in the year 1791, and when he visited the *Valiant*, commanded by his royal nephew in the Spanish armament, 1790, I remember a conversation taking place respecting the dimensions of the *Valiant*'s masts, and, on some reference made to the mizen-mast, the gallant admiral asked which was the mizen-mast. The Duke was a man of very small intellect.

It should be mentioned to the credit of Prince

William that, although greatly pestered by noble families to take their children on board the *Pegasus*, he gave a preference to his old shipmates and the sons of naval officers, so that we had not in the ship one single sprig of nobility; while another frigate was so crowded with bantlings of the aristocracy that one of the lieutenants of the ship, a rough hand, but with some humour, had been reading the King's Speech to Parliament, and presently after, being officer of the watch, he was desired to 'wear the ship,' and in doing so he called out to the young noblemen and honourables stationed at the different ropes: 'My Lords and gentlemen, shiver the mizen topsail.' This parliamentary language on the quarter-deck became quite the joke in the squadron.

His present Majesty and Sir W. Hargood are the only two commissioned officers now alive who served in the *Pegasus*; and out of twenty-six young gentlemen (midshipmen), only four at this time survive: Lord James O'Bryen—then Mr. O'Bryen, whose father was then a captain in the army, and nephew and heir presumptive to Lord Inchiquin—Captain Pitt Burnaby Greene, Captain Smollett, and myself. Sir Charles Rowley did not join the *Pegasus* until she arrived in America, and Sir F. Laforey joined us from the *Rose* at Newfoundland. It was said in the papers some time ago that Captain Pasco was a midshipman with the King. It was not so, he was a boy in the ship, and was the servant in the midshipmen's berth¹ in which I messed; he was afterwards by way of promotion handed over to John Baptiste, the Prince's steward, and now greatly to his credit he is high in rank, distinguished and respected. I never saw Captain

¹ His rating in the *Pegasus*'s pay-book is 'gunner's servant.' A Peter Pasco, age twenty-eight, was a quarter-gunner.

Pasco from the time he was a servant until he came to wait upon me as a commander when my flag was flying, and I was proud to have him at my table that day.

The Pegasus fitted out at Plymouth under Rear-Admiral Mark Milbanke, whose flag was on board the Sampson, of 64 guns, having under his command as guardships, the Cumberland, 74, the Carnatic, 74, Bombay Castle, 74, Standard, 64, Crown, 64, Culloden, 74.

The Pegasus went into the Sound the 3rd of May, 1786, and on the 27th there was a grand display on board in consequence of a visit from the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch and two very ugly, red-headed daughters. I had the honour on this occasion to form a conspicuous part of the pageant display, for I was stuck upon the main topmast cap with a gold-laced hat about as broad as the number of my perpendicular inches, with fine gold tassels hanging over the hat at each end, so that with the sugar-loaf buttons of my coat down the middle, I made as pretty a letter T as ever ornamented a piece of gingerbread.

In June 1786 we sailed from Plymouth under the orders of Captain Henry Harvey of the Rose, and in company with the Druid, and proceeded to Guernsey to lay in a stock of wine, which was to be had there cheap, as well as other articles ; and as the Prince was strictly tied down to 3,000*l.* a year, economy was considered necessary.

It was at Guernsey that I first saw the present Lord De Saumarez, then Captain Saumarez ; he was then twenty-eight years of age, very erect in his figure, and a good deal of the grimace of a Frenchman. With a singularity of countenance he was well-looking, but a wildness of expression gave great weight to the report at the time of his being

at times much excited ; it was said indeed he had been very lately under restraint. Indeed Sir Philip Durham, some years after, told me how he had been instrumental in assisting his escape from a mad-house where, according to Sir Philip, he was unnecessarily detained—an assertion which I think meets a complete contradiction in the known devoted attachment of his family, who would, I am sure, one and all watch over his happiness with the deepest sympathy had he been subject to anything like undue restraint. I purposely mention my authority that those who know Sir Philip may give what credit they please to the statement ; for anything coming from him need be received not with grains but pounds of allowance.

Lord De Saumarez was certainly subject to great depression of spirits, and when labouring under such attacks, which sometimes lasted for weeks, he was hardly a safe man to be entrusted with the direction of duties of great national interest. But he was very fortunate, for, notwithstanding this sad infirmity, he gained the highest distinction that conduct and courage could win ; a more gallant man never trod the deck of a British man-of-war.¹

Captain the Hon. G. Barrington, the son-in-law of the Prime Minister, Lord Grey, and himself at the time a lord of the admiralty, told me that Lord Grey had twice been to the King to urge him to make Sir James Saumarez a peer, but his Majesty absolutely refused. But as Lord Grey

¹ In the annals of our navy there is nothing more brilliant than the way in which he refitted the squadron after the disastrous repulse at Algesiras on the 6th of July, 1801, and sailed on the evening of the 12th, with five sail of the line, to win a signal victory over the combined French and Spanish squadrons of nine ships of the line and four frigates. How his diplomacy prevented war with Sweden in 1810-12, is told *post*, vol. ii., Introduction, pp. ix, x.

was at the time busy creating peers to give him political strength in the Lords, it may be doubted if his recommendation was very strongly urged in favour of an officer whose feelings and principles were known to be adverse to the Whig Government; but it was at length conferred on him, on the condition of his supporting Lord Grey's administration.

William IV always had a violent prejudice against this officer, but without the slightest cause for so ungenerous a feeling. His Majesty lost no opportunity of showing it, and one day, when I called at the Palace by command, we had a lengthened conversation on professional matters and professional men. As ill luck would have it, something was said in a tone of great anger about Saumarez not attending Sir Richard Keats's funeral, which I endeavoured to excuse, but my officiousness only provoked coarse and unbecoming expressions; whereupon I remarked that, although there might be something stiff and unpleasing to some people in Lord De Saumarez's manner, he was entitled to great respect as a most distinguished officer, and an honourable and estimable man. I thought the King took this as too plain a rebuke, and I was speedily bowed out of the audience chamber.

A few days before I found that Lord De Saumarez had been cut to the quick by some expressions of the King upon the same subject; and at the next levee after my interview, the King's manner to him was so offensive and produced such annoyance, that a letter was written by De Saumarez—whether to the King, or to whom, I do not recollect, but intended for his Majesty—expressing in the strongest manner his wounded feelings, and when he showed me the letter he wept like a child. I recommended him to throw the letter into the fire, not

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to take to heart such idle, unfounded, and heartless expressions, which, had they been addressed to me, I said, would only have produced a smile. I advised him to go to the next levee, and show not the least symptom of concern at what had been said. He did so, and the King was reasonably gracious.

On the 5th of June his Royal Highness went on shore at Guernsey in state, with the standard flying, and was saluted by the ships and the fort.

The 8th, sailed in company with the Rose and Druid.

9th, Druid parted company. 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, a dense fog. The ships fired guns every hour to denote their position; sounded on the banks of Newfoundland in depths varying from 40 to 50 fathoms.

25th, Sounded in 23 fathoms; luckily the fog cleared up, when we saw the land, which proved to be the Bull, Cow, and Calf¹ rocks at no great distance.

27th, Anchored with the Rose in Trepassey harbour.²

28th, A party on shore to cut the spruce bush to boil for beer, which was made in a tent on shore in coppers, supplied to ships on the Newfoundland station for the purpose.³

On the voyage out some days before striking soundings on the Banks, we fell in with an island of ice of huge dimensions. Its contiguity to the ship was first discovered by a sudden and excessive chill in the middle watch, which was noticed by the late Sir William Hope, who had then the watch on deck, and no one was so likely as he was to be alive to the inconvenience of falling in with such a cruiser,

¹ About twenty miles south of St. John's, the capital.

² On the south coast of Newfoundland.

³ This was kept up for many years, spruce-beer being considered a good antiscorbutic.

for it was his ill fate the year before, when a lieutenant of the *Santa Leocadia*, with Captain Charles Hope, to get squeezed between two ice islands of great magnitude, so that for a long time the ship was in the greatest peril.

I have not at hand any memo. of the size of the island we fell in with; I have somewhere a drawing of it. I think it must have been 500 feet long and 300 high. Two-thirds is supposed to be under water and one-third above.¹

There can be no doubt that ships lost and not heard of are sometimes lost by dashing upon these floating islands; and now that steam on the ocean seems getting into use, it may be imagined the tremendous crash of them against such a rock; the vessel would of course be dashed to pieces the first stroke.²

13th of July we sailed, and went into Great St. Lawrence harbour.³ On 14th, sailed and anchored in Little St. Lawrence.³ 16th, sailed and anchored in Placentia harbour,⁴ a noble port capable of holding any number of ships of the largest class.

21st July, Departed this life Wm. Eddy, a

¹ In reality, $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the bulk is below water.

² About 1880 the *Arizona*, called the Greyhound of the Atlantic, ran into an iceberg in a fog at full speed—15 or 16 knots; her injury was local—confined to bow compartment; the watertight bulkhead prevented any further ingress of water, and she steamed to St. John's, Newfoundland. In 1851 H.M.S. *Intrepid*, in which I was serving, was driven by the pack ice over 30 feet up the side of an iceberg in Baffin's Bay, and after 22 hours came off with but comparatively small damage. I have passed close to many icebergs, but never felt this 'chill'; nor was it felt when on one.

³ On the south coast, Newfoundland.

⁴ On the south coast of Newfoundland. It was the French capital during the French occupation of a part of the island, and was taken and retaken several times, or given up after a successful war, with our usual generosity to our foes and disregard of the rights of our own people.

thorough, good, and respectable old seaman, much regarded by everybody in the ship. His messmates dug and formed a remarkably neat grave for him, and having no chaplain, the Prince read the funeral service in a very impressive manner. It showed great good feeling in his Royal Highness, and I refer to it with pleasure.

We remained at Placentia several weeks, the Prince exercising on shore a magisterial authority as the Governor's surrogate ; he was, in fact, the administrator of the law.

It had been the custom from the earliest time of our possession of the colony for the captains to make a circuit of the ports, with a delegated authority from the Governor, to try and decide all causes and to punish petty offences, referring important and difficult points to the Governor. This long-standing custom, though not quite in accordance with the spirit of our constitution, was, in such an infant colony, practically good ; I never heard any complaint of maladministration of the law. The people were poor, and it was a cheap way of getting their differences decided ; they had perfect confidence in their judges as men of honour and wholly free from local prejudices. My firm belief is that no desire existed in the colony for what was soon after thrust upon them under the name of an improved system of jurisprudence. Experience had satisfied them of the equity of the captains. It was an expeditious as well as a cheap way of administering the law ; years were not wasted in taking time to consider, and filling up those years by exacting renewed annual fees from suitors. Now, the Newfoundlanders are made to feel what it is to have learned counsel to advise them, and a set of pettifogging attorneys, who screw from the poor devils the uttermost farthing as the price of their

blessed help. The Lord have mercy upon them, for the lawyers never will.

Newfoundland has now also a legislature, a parliament which I believe the rational people of the colony deprecate as an exceeding nuisance, the source of unceasing contention and strife; not by any means the first instance of England's parental stupidity in giving to an infant colony food that it cannot conveniently digest. There is likewise a chief justice, an attorney-general, and lawyers swarming in every corner of the colony like so many cormorants, to swallow up the hard-earned pence of the unfortunate fishermen. We have read that in old times a child was suckled by a wolf, but who ever heard of an infant colony being suckled by lawyers? Dry work I guess—though in truth the sucking is on the other side.

England is too hasty and heedless in imparting to its distant and immature possessions the blessing of that freedom we ourselves so justly prize; we don't wait until the persons forming those distant communities are in a state to make a right use of privileges which, at a proper time, will be then due. It is far better that an infant colony should grow to full maturity under a well-selected governor, rather than let go the leading-strings at too early an age.¹

Our royal captain came of age at Placentia the

¹ This old system of captains of men-of-war *ex officio* administering justice was abolished in 1832 or '3, when a constitutional government was granted to Newfoundland. Its tradition, however, remained, and in 1862-3, when I was senior naval officer on that coast, I was asked at outports to settle fishing disputes, and to marry and christen. This latter I once did to an Eskimo child on the Labrador coast, but I always declined interfering in the other cases, as they had a constitutional government. Their expressed opinions were more complimentary to the navy than to it.

21st of August, 1786, and the occasion presented a strange scene. His Royal Highness lunched with the officers in the gun-room [now the ward-room], and the interchange of condescension on the one part and of love and loyalty on the other was so often plighted in a bumper that by one o'clock scarcely one of the company could give distinct utterance to a word. By some means, I know not how (it was no easy matter), his Royal Highness contrived to crawl up to the main-deck, no doubt with the adventurous hope of being able to reach his cabin; but in an instant he was recognised by the seamen, all nearly as drunk as himself, who with unfeigned, irresistible loyalty, mounted him on their shoulders and ran with him violently from one end of the deck to the other. This was a most dangerous proceeding, for I am sure I may say that his head passed within an inch of the skids (beams) several times, and one blow at the rate they were going would inevitably have killed him. I was on the gang-way at the time looking down on them, and seeing the danger, roared to the men to stop, but all in vain. I then threw my hat upon them with all the force I could to draw attention, and I succeeded in getting the men to lower him in their arms, and by that means probably saved his life.

I was too young to be admitted to the honour of the tipsy party, and, with three other dignitaries of my own standing, was instructed to take charge of the ship during the approaching interregnum, of which we were not a little proud. The precaution of striking the lower yards and topmasts had been taken the preceding evening, it having been determined to give the men a double allowance of grog and liberty to purchase more from the shore, to make sure that all should be gloriously drunk. The master-at-arms, as well as we boys, was

charged to keep himself sober to look after the fire and lights—a very necessary precaution, but a most irksome injunction to one as notoriously a lover of drink as any of its victims, who he soon saw with envy scattered about the decks. It was altogether a strange scene, one that would have astonished the members of the temperance society.

On the 10th of September we anchored in St. John's harbour, the metropolis of the colony.

On the 13th the commodore, being also governor, visited the *Pegasus* and was saluted with thirteen guns. As Captain Elliot he was much distinguished in command of the *Æolus*.¹

Admiral Edwards,² the predecessor of Commodore Elliot in the government of the colony, was a man of singular character in the navy, and whose odd sayings and doings has perpetuated his memory more than any of his professional exploits. This officer's name was Edward Edwards, but he always went by the name of Toby Edwards, and is talked of to this day as one of the strangest creatures that ever breathed, but a thoroughly good-natured man.

Toby had received but little polish from mixing as he did a good deal in the circles of fashion, but there was nothing offensive in his manners, while

¹ It was in the *Æolus*, with two other frigates, that he captured Thurot's squadron off Ramsey, in the Isle of Man, on 28th February, 1760. See Laughton's *Studies in Naval History*, p. 358.

² All that follows about 'Toby' Edwards appears to be the confused remembrance of traditional yarns which the writer had heard when a lad of fourteen. Elliot's predecessor as Governor of Newfoundland was Rear-Admiral John Campbell, 1782-5, and before him was Rear-Admiral Richard Edwards, 1779-82—both of them grim, saturnine men, whom assuredly nobody ever called 'Toby.' Edward Edwards was a captain of 1781, was never governor of Newfoundland, and, so far from being 'a thoroughly good-natured man,' was the captain of the *Pandora* who brutally ill-treated and barbarously drowned the mutineers of the *Bounty*.

his peculiarities and strange sayings made him an amusing and acceptable addition to a party.

The late Admiral Reeve, who had an inimitable way of telling a story, had a variety of anecdotes of old Toby, with whom he had served, and one was a ridiculous occurrence on the voyage out to Newfoundland. I should mention that it was one of the peculiarities in Admiral Edwards that he considered seafaring people superior to all other human beings ; he persuaded himself they came into the world designed for seamen—born with a sort of mark upon them to denote superiority over the less noble animal intended for the inferior offices of mankind. It mattered not to Toby whether it was the great Lord Chatham, the Duke of Marlborough, or any other renowned person ; it was quite enough that they were landsmen to cast them into the inferior scale of creation when contrasted with seamen, and he was ever primed and ready for furious fight if anyone presumed to question what he insisted upon as an evident distinction in their natures, a proposition which others might perhaps agree to, though not quite in accordance with the Admiral's ideas. It was in this frame of mind he was when it one day happened, during church service on board the *Salisbury*, the [person acting as] clerk of the parish gave out in due form and with a thundering voice the 100th psalm, 'All people that on earth do dwell,' upon which old Toby bounced from his seat and roared out, 'Damn "All people that on earth do dwell," give us "The Lord is our Shepherd."' How the chaplain got on with his sermon after this is not mentioned, but the well-known story may give some idea of the sort of man I am speaking of.¹

¹ As is often the case with a good story, this has been fathered on many different individuals. I have even heard it assigned to a clergyman.

I have before mentioned that the naval commander-in-chief was also governor of the colony, and in this latter capacity, as the representative of Majesty, his Excellency was at times conspicuously grand.

On our arrival at St. John's we found the Newfoundland ladies scarcely recovered from a shock which had greatly offended their very delicate sense of propriety.

A royal birthday was always a stirring event in the colony, but that of the young Prince of Wales on the 12th of August, 1785, was marked by more than ordinary festivities and pomp; for the admiral was very vain of having on several occasions been allowed to partake of the no very moral proceedings at Carlton House¹ (where Fox, Sheridan, and such like were the Prince's associates), and therefore took more than ordinary interest in promoting every demonstration of joy on this occasion.

Besides other measures calculated to show respect for the royal personage, his Excellency, old Toby, gave a public dinner, at which all the civil and military authorities were sumptuously entertained, and, according to the fashion of the time, each vied with the other in the beastly practice of excessive drinking.

It had been previously arranged that when the feast ended the whole party should walk from the Government House to the ball, in grand ceremonial procession, all in full uniform or court dresses.²

¹ The Prince did not go to Carlton House till 1783.

² It is necessary to know a Newfoundland to have a right notion of his court dress there [evidently meaning at that date]. There were no carriages, as there were no roads at that time in Newfoundland—T.B.M. The first road in Newfoundland was made by the late Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, who was the first constitutional governor and—as I was frequently told thirty years later—‘the best we ever had.’

It was part of the well-studied programme that his Excellency should be received by the beauty and fashion of the colony ranged in double column, so as to make a passage from the door to the throne erected for him at the head of the room, so that the representative of majesty might be greeted with their smiles of welcome.

That nothing might be omitted to give grace and elegance to the party, the only hairdresser in the place was in requisition for two days, and the ladies first dressed were obliged to sleep one night in an erect position to preserve their curls and powder undisturbed and fresh for the coming gala.

It was the fashion of those days to wear enormous curls plastered up with powder and pomatum, frightful enough even in moderation, and greatly disfiguring a pretty face. Whatever is the fashion at home is sure to be preposterously exaggerated in the colonies, and at Newfoundland these huge curls were so prized that, when sustained in their rotundity of form by stiff pomatum, they looked like butter firkins hanging on each side. However, as the ladies were satisfied, we may hope the gentlemen were also pleased; I can answer for it that some of them were much amused.

Notwithstanding a week of hard scouring of the hands (a much-needed process) and a night of purgatory to preserve the head-dress, the ladies showed no wearied feelings at the Governor's long-delayed procession from the banquet to the ball-room; each sustained the place assigned to her. At length a distant sound of music announced his Excellency's approach, and all were on the tiptoe to see the entrance of the King's representative.

As the band drew near some said they were playing 'God save the King!' others thought it was 'Rule Britannia,' and a third opinion maintained

that it was that interesting tune 'O the Roast Beef of Old England!' It turned out that all were right, for the musicians had partaken so freely of the Governor's good drink that not more than four of them played the same tune, but happily neither his Excellency or his attendants were conscious of the inharmonious sounds. The music, however, was soon overwhelmed by the thunder of the Newfoundland ladies' hands the moment the mimic King appeared, and in he came with a mirthful sort of countenance not much in keeping with an effort to put on the dignity and demeanour of his station, but quite suited to his effort to preserve a straight step as he advanced through the avenue of grace, to the vista where an elevated throne awaited his occupation.

The ladies, seeing the erring step of the Governor, ceased their clapping of welcome, and wisely erected their hands into a sort of *chevaux-de-frise*, to ward off the apprehended inconvenience of collision. A most wise precaution, for scarcely had he advanced half-way to the throne, when bang he went against a lady who, though somewhat of a Dutch beauty, would have been floored to a certainty had she not been bolstered up by some of similar dimension in the rear rank.

This occurrence, which afforded a little merriment at the moment, was no joke to the lady, for she came out of the squeeze with her artificial attractions so disarranged that it was difficult to recognise her as the same portly, well-attired person we had witnessed but a minute before. This accidental confusion enabled old Toby with the help of his lords-in-waiting to scramble away to his throne.

The band now struck up 'God save the King!' and all stood up except the representative of

Majesty, who had the best possible reason for assuming the royal privilege. Presently the heat of the room acting upon the almost exhausted powers of his Excellency produced an irresistible tendency to sleep, and, as ill-luck would have it, he sunk into a complete state of stupor before the national tune had ended. Every effort to rouse him was in vain, but his attendants, to make the best of matters, promptly called for the minuet dance with which in those days a ball always opened.

It may be right perhaps to inform the folks of the present day, that a minuet is performed by only two persons, the gentleman wearing a cocked hat ; although abounding in bows and curtseys, full of grace, but of awful depth, such as would at this time be thought very ridiculous at Almack's. The last minuet I ever saw danced was by Prince William Henry, the present King, at a public ball at Portsmouth, with my sister Sarah.

Our well-prepared and practised minuet dancers at Newfoundland, according to previous arrangement, advanced hand in hand towards the throne to make their obedience, and this done they assumed the minuet position. Scarcely had the first movement commenced when old Toby began to snore so immoderately that the music had scarcely a chance with him, and losing the benefit of its guidance for time, came so fixed in a position of graceful attitude that the whole company burst with a laugh loud enough to have awakened his Excellency, but not a bit of it. The close of this ludicrous scene was of a piece with the rest of it. The officers of the staff (the King's household as it were), ashamed of the state of things, still felt a delicacy in man-handling the royal representative ; but at length it was decided to hold an inquest on the body, whereupon a verdict was speedily given of 'dead drunk,' and the

body with as much decency as possible forthwith removed—after which things went on all right in the ball-room.

The Prince saw nothing but the best example in Commodore Elliot and his officers, and I wish for the credit of the service he had been as fortunate on other stations.

Captain Erasmus Gower, an excellent seaman and highly estimable man, was the flag-captain in the *Salisbury* of 50 guns. Westcott, who fought and fell so gloriously as captain of the *Majestic*, at the battle of the Nile, was the first lieutenant. He was born at Honiton of humble parentage, and is one of the many instances in contradiction to the repeated assertions of that mischievous man, Mr. Joseph Hume, that in the navy merit is disregarded, and interest alone the guide in selecting officers for promotion. I could myself name many who, like Westcott, owed their advancement to their own personal merit.

The second lieutenant of *Salisbury* was (as Nelson said of him) that good man and excellent officer, Captain Edward Riou, who was killed when fighting under Nelson, as captain of the *Amazon*, at Copenhagen in 1801. Sir Philip Durham was third and Sir Robert Stopford fourth lieutenant.

Riou was on terms of great intimacy in my family, and his interesting and delightful character has left a deep impression on my mind. A pleasing gloom hung over his manly countenance, unlike anything I ever witnessed in any other person. His eye was peculiarly striking, beaming with intelligence, while every feature seemed to indicate all the qualities that most exalt and adorn our nature. His conduct in every situation private and public afforded a beautiful illustration of all the greatness and goodness his countenance so faith-

fully portrayed. There was a pensiveness of look and a reserve in his manner which sometimes made strangers regard him as cold and repulsive, but this first impression was soon removed, and all who knew him loved him. Free from the arrogance and foolishness of the enthusiast, he entertained a deep sense of every Christian obligation ; it was this that gave him a serenity of mind which no peril, however sudden and appalling, could disturb ; it was his sheet anchor ; his holdfast amidst the varied dangers of his profession, of which he had more than a common space ; without it he knew that man is like a ship without ballast and without a rudder.

Truly if all seafaring men were like Riou, old Toby Edwards would not be in error in describing them as superior to the rest of mankind ; yet, with all this, there was an innate modesty in the man, which made him utterly unconscious of the admiration with which he was regarded by all classes, and most of all by those who had the happiness to serve under his command, and to profit by his example.

I have often heard Riou reprobate in the strongest terms the idea of a captain of a man-of-war forsaking his ship to save his own life, while a single man remained behind to whom he could by possibility be useful, or indeed, under any circumstances, to quit a ship in distress and leave his crew to perish. It was impossible, he would say, to believe that an officer in command could so far forget his duty. I have, however, known some persons to argue the point with him on the ground that, amidst one general state of peril and inevitable destruction, all without distinction of rank have an equal right to struggle for their individual safety. This less noble sentiment had no effect on Riou ; he was not of a disposition to be turned in his opinion upon such points by any argument, however

plausible ; when once his mind was made up to what he believed to be his duty nothing could shake his firm resolve.

Those who read the foregoing pages will scarcely be satisfied if left uninformed of Riou's further professional progress, and particularly the closing scene of his exemplary life. His glorious death was of a piece with all his former conduct. At this time Riou commanded the *Amazon*, of 38 guns, and was one of the ships detached by Sir Hyde Parker, under Lord Nelson, in the attack upon the Danish line of defence at Copenhagen in 1801. The day preceding the battle, Nelson had several of the captains to dine with him, who all (except Riou) returned to their respective ships at nine o'clock. The admiral, his captain (Foley), and Riou then went into the after-cabin and there finally arranged the order of battle for the following morning. It was part of Lord Nelson's judicious plan to have a small squadron of reserve consisting of three frigates ; and Riou was detained after dinner, as it was intended he should have the command of this little squadron. Lord Nelson well knew how entirely he could rely on Riou's promptness and good judgment to take advantage of any circumstance which might present itself in the course of the battle, whereby he might succour others, or take the place of any ships that might by accident be thrown out of their station in the line.¹ This opportunity soon occurred. As Lord Nelson stood in to take up the anchorage of his detachment, the *Russell*, *Bellona*, and *Agamemnon* grounded on one

¹ One of the many proofs of Nelson's personally giving his views to captains as to the course they were to pursue. Hence the few signals he made when going into action. There can be no greater error in handling a fleet than a multiplicity of signals in carrying out an evolution.

of the sands, and though the two former were in a position to do good service, they could not reach their appointed places in the line of battle. Riou, with his quick eye and willing heart, seeing this unfortunate frustration of his admiral's well-conceived arrangement, instantly pushed in with his frigates¹ and nobly occupied with his frigates the blank this accident left in the line.

Lord Nelson in a private letter to the First Lord of the Admiralty says, 'If it had not been for this untoward accident of the three ships getting on shore, my plan would have been completely executed, and in that case poor dear Riou might have been saved. His bravery with the three frigates attempted what I had appointed as work for three sail of the line to assist in doing.'

It was soon found that ships of such small force had more to do than they could well manage in so unequal a contest, and perhaps nothing saved them but a most hazardous signal made by Sir Hyde Parker in the thick of the fight to 'discontinue the battle,' a proceeding which, if carried into execution, would have stigmatised the affair as an inglorious retreat and defeat.

This signal was of course addressed to Nelson, and was reported to him by his signal lieutenant, but his lordship, who could be a little deaf as well as a little blind on such occasions, took no notice of what was said. The signal lieutenant, however, wishing to have some directions how to act, contrived to meet the admiral at his next turn on the quarter-deck, asked if the commander-in-chief's signal was to be repeated? 'No,' said Lord Nelson, and turning to his gallant captain (the battle then at the highest), 'You know, Foley, I have only one eye and have a right to be a little blind sometimes,' and

¹ *Amazon, Blanche, and Alcmène.*

then playfully putting the glass to his blind eye said, 'I really cannot see any signal to leave off action ;' he however ordered the signal to be answered, but forbade the officer to repeat it to his attacking ships. Presently, as the signal lieutenant passed near Lord Nelson, his lordship said to him, 'Have you No. 16¹ still flying ?' 'Yes, my lord,' was the answer. 'Mind you keep it so,' replied Nelson.

Admiral Thomas Graves, the next officer in seniority under Lord Nelson, could see the Commander-in-Chief's signal, but the ships along the line were so enveloped in smoke that he could not see how Nelson acted upon it ; Admiral Graves therefore repeated Sir Hyde Parker's signal to dis-continue the action.

The frigates being near Admiral Graves felt it to be their duty to obey his signal, and weighed anchor accordingly. While in the act of this difficult operation the ship swung so as to be open to a raking fire from the batteries. Riou had been previously wounded in the head, and was resting on one of the guns to support himself in consequence of great loss of blood, and the clerk was by his side giving him assistance, as Riou would not consent to leave the deck. Just at this moment a shot came into the stern which killed the clerk and some marines, who were in the act of hauling in the main brace,² which for an instant staggered the men, and Riou, seeing this, sprung forward to bring the men to a sense of their duty, and to urge them to exertion, calling out 'Let us, my brave fellows, all die together.' The words were scarcely uttered when a shot cut him in two. Thus, says McArthur (in his *Life of Lord Nelson*), 'in an instant the British service

¹ No. 16 signal for close action.

² There were no main braces led forward in those days ; the mainyard was worked by the braces leading aft.

about 40 leagues SE of the island of Cape Breton. This island of sand requires the navigator's watchful care in a climate where dense fogs are so frequent. Had the ship struck, there was so much swell that probably all hands would have perished; happily the fog suddenly, but partially, dispersed in the direction between the ship and the island; providentially just enough to show us the destruction upon which we were running; and the ship's head was scarcely put in an opposite direction when the fog was thicker in every direction, to a greater degree than we had before seen it.

This was our second escape within three months; in both instances we experienced long-continued fogs; in both the ship's position was greatly miscalculated; in both the same merciful Providence (which looks out for us much better than we do for ourselves) drew aside the dark veil for a moment only, but long enough to save the lives of 200 men. On this last occasion the ship was on a wind standing directly towards the rocks called the Bull, Cow, and Calf, on the coast of Newfoundland; they were at a distance of about one mile and a half when the curtain was drawn aside to tell us of our danger. Then, and many a time since upon similar hair-breadth escapes, I have thought with great, but insufficient, gratitude of that almighty and merciful protection vouchsafed to me; and often at such moments I have thought of Dibdin's sea song in which he alludes to the chaplain's sermon as follows:—

But he said that a sparrow can't founder, d' ye see,
Without orders that comes down below;
And many fine things, which prove clearly to me
That Providence takes us in tow.
For says he, do you mind me, let storms e'er so oft
Take the topsails of sailors aback,
There's a sweet little Cherub that sits up aloft
To keep watch for the life of poor Jack.

distaste for our rough profession, have gone into the sister service, having no abatement of relish for the profession of arms, but wishing to pursue it in a manner more congenial to their feelings.¹

I can well excuse those whose courage failed them in contending with so inglorious an enemy as sea-sickness. I suffered from it in an extraordinary degree for two years, and even of late I had a very humiliating proof of continued liability to it. It was in making an official voyage from Plymouth to Pembroke dockyard on board the *Comet* steam vessel. After an active morning in the dockyard I embarked about 3 o'clock, with an appetite so keen that my first word of command on reaching the quarter-deck was, 'Let us have our dinner ;' but I had scarcely washed my hands in the cabin when the heat of the vessel, the smell of the oil, and a heavy head-sea laid me on my beam ends as sick as a dog, while I heard my companions, two landsmen (what would old Toby Edwards have said ?), praising the excellence of a beef-steak pie ; and at the same moment some tender-hearted friend—oh, the wretch !—asked 'Where is the Admiral ?' giving an opportunity to a dirty little cabin boy to cry out, 'Down below, sea-sick, sir.' What an indignity ! and I plead it as an excuse for the uncharitable epithets I bestowed on he who first applied the power of steam to naval purposes. I consider a steamer only another name for a stomach pump. There is the consolation, however, for sea-sick admirals that Nelson suffered from it to the very last.

In the autumn of 1786 the *Pegasus* sailed from St. John's for Halifax, having on the passage been in imminent danger of shipwreck on Sable Island, a mass of sand standing in the midst of the sea,

¹ Among others at the present day may be named General Sir Evelyn Wood and Lieutenant-General Sir John French.

about 40 leagues SE of the island of Cape Breton. This island of sand requires the navigator's watchful care in a climate where dense fogs are so frequent. Had the ship struck, there was so much swell that probably all hands would have perished; happily the fog suddenly, but partially, dispersed in the direction between the ship and the island; providentially just enough to show us the destruction upon which we were running; and the ship's head was scarcely put in an opposite direction when the fog was thicker in every direction, to a greater degree than we had before seen it.

This was our second escape within three months; in both instances we experienced long-continued fogs; in both the ship's position was greatly miscalculated; in both the same merciful Providence (which looks out for us much better than we do for ourselves) drew aside the dark veil for a moment only, but long enough to save the lives of 200 men. On this last occasion the ship was on a wind standing directly towards the rocks called the Bull, Cow, and Calf, on the coast of Newfoundland; they were at a distance of about one mile and a half when the curtain was drawn aside to tell us of our danger. Then, and many a time since upon similar hair-breadth escapes, I have thought with great, but insufficient, gratitude of that almighty and merciful protection vouchsafed to me; and often at such moments I have thought of Dibdin's sea song in which he alludes to the chaplain's sermon as follows:—

But he said that a sparrow can't founder, d' ye see,
Without orders that comes down below;
And many fine things, which prove clearly to me
That Providence takes us in tow.
For says he, do you mind me, let storms e'er so oft
Take the topsails of sailors aback,
There's a sweet little Cherub that sits up aloft
To keep watch for the life of poor Jack.

We found at Halifax the commander-in-chief on the North American station, Commodore Herbert Sawyer, the father of Sir Herbert. It was the practice in those days to place the several stations under the command of a commodore. Why it was so we must presume was the want of rear-admirals, for there were in 1786 only 14 on the list, and this the period of which I am writing. There could be no economy in the arrangement, for all the commodores, except one, had captains under them. The commodores then employed were :—

At Jamaica, Commodore Alan Gardner (the first lord) with Captain James Vashon, in the *Europa*, of 50 guns.

In the East Indies, the Honourable W. Cornwallis, Captain Isaac Schomberg, in the *Crown*, 64, but only mounting 50 guns.¹

Newfoundland, Commodore Elliot, Captain Erasmus Gower, in the *Salisbury*, 50 guns.

Halifax, the *Leander*, 50 guns, Commodore Sawyer, Captain Sir James Barclay, Bart.

Leeward Islands, the *Jupiter*, 50 guns, Commodore W. Parker, who had no captain under him.

Mediterranean, Commodore Phillips Cosby, in the *Trusty*, of 50 guns, Captain Wolseley.

Except the *Crown* of 64 guns, all were fifties. I believe it was stipulated in the treaty of peace that the naval force of England and France should only be of a certain amount, and (except guardships) none above 50 guns.²

The only two rear-admirals employed in 1786 were Lord Hood, commanding at Portsmouth, and

¹ In 1786 Schomberg was first lieutenant of the *Pegasus*; the *Crown* did not go out to the East Indies till 1789.

² Peace of Versailles, 1783. It is curious how a man in Byam Martin's position could have entertained this extraordinary belief, quite without foundation in fact.

Mark Milbanke at Plymouth. In the Medway Sir A. Hamond had a broad pennant.

The Leander afforded but a bad example to the rest of the squadron, and perhaps there never was an assemblage of ships so much requiring a good example. Sir James Barclay, the captain, was about as much fit to command a man-of-war as any other old woman in the kingdom.

Captain Bentinck was the flag-captain at first, but a singular disagreement with the commodore disgusted him and led to their early separation. The case was this: the commodore had apartments allowed him as a residence in the naval hospital, and two women, wives of marines, belonging to the flag-ship, were employed on shore in the service of the commander-in-chief's family. The marines having gone on shore to visit their ladies, were guilty of some irregularity which was represented to provoke his anger, and the consequence was a hasty and injudicious determination to send them off to the ship to be flogged. I do not recollect enough of the story to argue the right or the wrong of it on either side, but Captain Bentinck refused to punish the men, and was put under arrest for disobedience of orders. I do not know whether there was a court-martial, but certainly I trace nothing of it in the record of trials in the year 1786.

One can scarcely conceive an offence committed under such circumstances that would have induced a right-judging, delicate-minded commander-in-chief to drag his family into notice, and to make the representation of his wife the ground for the infliction of a punishment at all times so disagreeable and disgusting. Had I been the captain, I would not have resisted the commander-in-chief's orders, but would have read at the gangway his order for the punishment.

Nothing could exceed the loyalty and good feelings of the inhabitants of Halifax,¹ and this manifestation coming so soon after the independence of the neighbouring states made it the more striking and very gratifying to the Prince. Everything said and done by the inhabitants gave evidence of a most cordial welcome to their illustrious visitor, but the season of the year was too far advanced to admit of his Royal Highness remaining long enough to enter into all the gaieties prepared for him; the good folks were, however, consoled for the disappointment by a promise of a longer visit the following summer, and the Pegasus departed in November for Barbados.

Halifax at the time alluded to (1786) had some two or three tolerable buildings. I am told it has since grown into importance both in size and commercial operations. At the opposite side of the harbour, at a place called Dartmouth, there were only a few small dwellings, but now I hear it is a large town with two handsome churches, and a considerable trade besides vessels employed in the South Sea fishery.² Halifax has a noble harbour, but should be approached with much caution on account of the shoals in front of it, and the very frequent fogs prevailing on that coast.

There was a Commissioner of the Navy then resident at Halifax, and a very tolerably arranged dockyard, with a good careening wharf and pits, in the event of any accident rendering it necessary to perform any shipwright work under the seat of water; and in the following year the Leander of 50 guns could not have been repaired but for this needful means of getting at her keel.

¹ Many of the loyalists from the United States, after the confiscation of their properties, settled in Nova Scotia and other colonies.

² Sc. Sperm whales.

Whether it may be wise to have a dock constructed at all in any of the colonial ports is a matter that requires much consideration, and was frequently discussed by the Government when I was in office, particularly with respect to Bermuda and Malta. The notion was strongly opposed by the economists who viewed it solely with reference to the pounds, shillings, and pence. This is not a statesmanlike way of dealing with such a question. First, well weigh the advantages prospectively of such a work ; and, if deemed necessary in the contemplation of war operations, we must not be deterred from such an undertaking by the inconvenience of the present cost. It is very right also to bear in mind that our colonies are always liable to be captured by an enemy, so that we may in fact be furnishing them with a stick to break our own heads. I wish this may not prove true if the talked of breakwater at Jersey and Alderney be persisted in.

We have been most prodigal in many cases since the war in engineering works, and in some instances economy might have been justly pleaded against the measures. Let it be ever recollected that a civil engineer thrives upon public prodigality, and he has a direct benefit in proportion to the sum expended ; their charges are most scandalous.¹

The engineers in the king's service ought to be employed in estimating and superintending all public works ; they are well qualified for it by education, and much better to give them such employment than make them governors of colonies and serjeants of the House of Commons.

In favour of a dock at Bermuda it may be said

¹ The very great increase in the Royal Engineers during the last thirty years has been accompanied by a corresponding expenditure on fortification.

that the American navy is becoming formidable in numbers, and always to be respected on account of the quality of their men, many of them our best British seamen. The Americans in all naval operations are full of enterprise, and will always send forth frigates, and smaller vessels, as well as swarms of privateers, to harass our trade in all quarters of the globe. While this goes on, the main fleet of America will cling to its own extensive sea-board, as well for self-protection, as to force upon our fleet the annoyance of having to look after them. It will enable them to take advantage of any incidental inferiority of the British squadron, and, having their resources close at hand, there will be every encouragement to bold and sudden enterprise wherever a fair opening may offer. An English fleet watching the American coast must, under present circumstances, depend on England for its supplies ; it therefore seems good policy to make Bermuda a little England, with a dock and everything requisite for keeping our fleet in an efficient state, so as promptly to repair any casualties arising from battle or accident, but most especially after an action, when the success of our game may depend on the expeditious resumption of active operations.

The careening (heaving down) a ship is expensive, tedious, and injurious to a ship's frame. A ship may be docked without taking anything out of her, whereas in heaving down she must be cleared of everything ; the lower-deck ports must be caulked in. The docking a ship and repairing her keel may be accomplished in four days, while the heaving down both sides for a similar repair would take three weeks. The expense of heaving the *Eagle* down at Malta in 1810 amounted to 942*l.* A ship in England is docked at a cost of 54*l.*

A wise and prudent Admiralty will take care to

have on the Bermuda station, in the event of war, a greater number of ships than the enemy can muster, at least in the proportion of one-fifth more, so as to be prepared for casualties, and to admit of reliefs for the refreshment of the crew, and refit of the ships without reducing the blockading fleet below that of the enemy.¹ This is a subject upon which I may have more to say hereafter; at present I will only add that it is one of serious importance, and if not taken up by the Government with a determination to look the difficulties of our position as regards America fairly in the face, the safety of our American and West India possessions may be seriously compromised. Apathy and false economy are abominations in dealing with such questions.

After refitting at Halifax we sailed for the West Indies about the middle of November, and two days after experienced a gale of wind of unusual severity. It was a perfect hurricane, and withal so cold as to make it difficult to perform the needful duties aloft. On this occasion poor Fidge, the surgeon, a most adventurous man in boat sailing, was so terrified by the indescribable violence of the wind, and its accompaniments of hail, thunder, and lightning, together with the leaning over of the ship, that he lost not a moment in getting invalided and sent home.

An extraordinary circumstance occurred on this voyage which I will now relate.

The sudden transition from cold to heat in going from America to the West Indies occasions a feeling of much relaxation and languor, and the Prince, always drowsy and disposed to sleep after dinner, yielded more than ever to that propensity.

¹ An eminent sailor, as B. Martin undoubtedly was, and also of a statesmanlike mind, gives his opinion strongly in favour of numbers.

It was one fine evening that his Royal Highness threw himself on a sofa in the cabin with the windows open, enjoying a good nap, and, according to his own statement, dreaming that Mears, the schoolmaster, was going to kill him, when starting up he found Mears had hold of his wrist with one hand, and a penknife in the other ; but it is better I should state, as I can most accurately, the words in which I heard the Prince describe the circumstance. On awaking, he came instantly from his cabin to the quarter-deck, and in some little flutter, natural to such an occurrence, addressed the officers who were on the deck in the following words :

‘A most extraordinary thing has happened just now. I was asleep on the sofa in the after-cabin dreaming that Mears was going to kill me, when suddenly I awoke and found he had hold of my wrist with one hand, and a penknife in the other. I started up and said, “Good God ! Mears, what are you about ?” He replied, “I was merely going to tell your Royal Highness that you would be likely to lose your life by sleeping here with the windows open.” He then turned round and walked out of the cabin, muttering something in an undertone which I could not make out ; he was looking at the time exceedingly pale. He is certainly mad,’ added the Prince.

The facts related by the Prince at the moment no doubt stated the precise circumstances, and from what I shall presently relate of an occurrence during the same night, it will be evident that Mears intended to murder the Prince. The little flurry I have mentioned in the manner of the Prince soon went off, and the conversation led to various instances of Mears’s strange conduct, all tending to prove the man as mad as we midshipmen had long

pronounced him to be, though all acknowledged his great abilities as a navigator and as a draughtsman.

One would suppose the extraordinary circumstance I have related would have given rise to a full investigation, and measures of precaution to guard the royal personage from Mr. Mears's further solicitude to guard him from the danger of sleeping in a current of air; but I have no recollection of any such measure, and the sequel will clearly show that he was not placed under any restraint. The fact of Mears being in the cabin at such an hour in the evening (probably about six o'clock) is easily explained, and was by no means unusual. He had always free access to the foremost cabin in the morning to schoolmaster the youngsters; and at all other times to write the Prince's log (now at Somerset House), to trace the ship's course on the chart, and to go on with a series of drawings he always had in hand for the captain.

The murderous intent which was uppermost in Mears's mind in the evening was made manifest the same night. In the course of the middle watch, about one o'clock in the morning, just after shortening sail in a squall of wind, Mears appeared on the quarter-deck without any covering but his shirt, and addressing himself to the lieutenant of the watch (the present Admiral Sir William Hargood) said, 'I must see the captain as soon as possible to tell him of the ship's position, for if the present course be continued another hour she will be on shore' (the nearest land was probably full 150 leagues off), 'and I must go into the cabin immediately to tell his Royal Highness.' Hargood, who would have been as good as his word, though his words greatly clipped the King's English, said, 'I'll tell you what, Mr. Mears, if you come up here with that there

nonsense, I'll make the boatswain's mate start you down to your hammock.'¹

Mears continued to hold his position, and to remonstrate a little time with his hands resting on either side of the companion, as if ready for a start ; in fact, having secured his retreat, he was disposed to argue the point notwithstanding a heavy shower of rain. Seeing, however, that we, his dutiful scholars, contrived to sidle round to his rear, ready to act offensively if so desired, the poor fellow made a bolt, but not to his bed as we shall presently see.

It is usual for one of the midshipmen of the watch to visit the lower part of the ship every half hour to see that there is no unauthorised light burning, and that all is quiet ; he reports all well, or otherwise, to the officer of the watch. At 'three bells' (half after one o'clock) it was my turn to go the rounds, and finding Mears still wandering about I told him to go to bed or I would report him. He made no reply but did as I desired.

About half an hour after this Mears stole up to the half-deck, and into the cabin of the captain's servants, a place merely shut off by a canvas screen ; there he armed himself with a large carving knife. Thus prepared, he watched the moment when the back of the sentinel at the captain's door was turned towards him, and then dashed against it with all his force to burst it open. Fortunately, to prevent the door flying open by the rolling of the ship, it was secured by a stout piece of line to the handle,

¹ The boatswain's mates at that date and for some years after had 'colts'—pieces of rope with a knot at one end—or more commonly canes, to lay on to the slack and lazy when the lower deck was cleared for any operation ; hence the term 'starting.' In the United States navy even the midshipmen used them to a still later period.

which did not break, although the force of the effort was such that the panel was knocked in.

The marine sentinel (Vaughan by name) with wonderful activity caught Mears under the chin with his powerful arm and threw the little man to a distance of full five yards, whereupon the unfortunate maniac gave the most hideous screech that ever issued from the lungs of man ; it came with such a clap upon the drum of the ear that the soundest sleeper was instantly on deck, while we who were on the quarter-deck made but one spring down the ladder, wondering what had happened. We found that before Mears could recover his legs he was seized by some stout men, who with difficulty held him down.

When the marine threw Mears forward in the manner described he just reached the legs of one of the carpenter's crew standing by the pump, and the man was so astounded and terrified by the scream, that he actually jumped down the main hatchway, and, marvellous to say, without any material injury. Fidge, the surgeon, whose nerves had been so shaken a few days before in a hurricane, soon made his appearance quivering with terror, and his affrighted look and skeleton figure made him the very counterpart of Shakespeare's 'lean apothecary.'

It was impossible for anyone to doubt the intention of Mears, in his insanity, to have murdered the Prince, but I do not at this time recollect anything in the conduct of his Royal Highness towards him to provoke such a feeling. Mears was sent to the hospital at Antigua, and thence to England by the first opportunity.

By some strange error we contrived to pass Barbados, and made the island of St. Vincent. Here the Pegasus remained for a few days, long

enough for the Cleopatra, French frigate, and a corvette to come from Martinique with a very pressing invitation to Prince William to honour the French islands with a visit. This early mark of attention on the part of the governor-general, the Viscount de Damas, was acknowledged in courteous terms by the same conveyance, but not until the Prince had given a dinner to the French officers.

His Royal Highness would gladly have availed himself of this invitation to visit the Governor-General of the French colonies, but by the express command of George III he was positively forbidden to enter any foreign port. This upon the face of it may look like unnecessary and harsh restraint, but the good old King had generally very sound reasons for what he did. In this instance it is clear his Majesty imagined, and not without reason, that there might be some danger of inconvenient consequences in giving too much scope to the youthful spirits and propensities of his son in foreign lands. We have all of us our imperfections and follies, from which even princes are not exempt, and the more that royal indiscretions are kept within the veil of our domestic circle the better.

The French officers were not a little surprised on finding hesitation in acceding to the wishes of the Count de Damas, and it was no easy matter for the Prince to offer an excuse sufficiently gracious in declining so prompt and well intended a compliment. It was, however, not badly contrived, and happily without the least disclosure of the King's interdiction.

The Prince's reply, which was read to the French captain, was couched in terms of great propriety and good breeding. After expressing his sense of so flattering a mark of attention, the invitation was declined on the ground that visiting

the French islands would subject him to great embarrassment in the event of a similar compliment from the Spanish, Dutch, and Danish settlements ; and that the orders he was under from the admiralty enjoined duties which would occupy the whole time he had to remain in the West Indies.

The Cleopatra was commanded by Count de Grasse, the nephew of the admiral who had so recently been Rodney's opponent and prisoner almost on the spot where we then were.¹ This same Cleopatra, on the breaking out of the war in 1793 was the first frigate captured, after a gallant fight with the Nymphe, of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Edward Pellew (since Lord Exmouth). The captain of the Cleopatra (not de Grasse) was killed, and the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, including three lieutenants, amounted to nearly a hundred men. The Nymphe had 23 men killed, including the boatswain and 4 midshipmen ; and 27 wounded, including a second lieutenant and marine officer. Pellew was knighted on this occasion. It is a remarkable circumstance in his biography that he fought the first and the last action [of the war], he having been the commander-in-chief at the battle of Algiers in 1816.² A more thorough seaman, more gallant man never trod the deck of a British man-of-war.

On arriving at St. Vincent it was an early act of condescension on the part of the King of the Caribees to visit the English Prince. His Majesty was accompanied by as curious a sample of filthy royalty as the eye of curiosity could desire to see, and I am sorry to say the person of her sacred

¹ Off Dominica on 12th April, 1782.

² Strictly speaking, Algiers was after the war, which ended in 1815.

Majesty was the most disgusting of the whole party.

The royal visitors and their attendants were treated with much hospitality, it being the policy at that time to cultivate a friendly intercourse with a people who, if influenced by hostile feelings, might be exceedingly troublesome ; but if conciliated, they were very useful in bringing in runaway negroes. Their fastness in the mountains gave them an almost inaccessible territory ; it was therefore politic as well as prudent to keep them in the pay of the Government, and in good humour.

The Caribbees were the aborigines of Barbados and the neighbouring islands ; they experienced cruel treatment from the Spaniards, whose trans-atlantic discoveries spread desolation, where, had better feelings prevailed and Christian benevolence marked the track of their discoveries, it would have shed a lustre over their enterprising pursuits. Alas, England, too—shame upon her, in what we term more civilised times !—even within our own memory, has lent a willing cruel hand to extirpate the wretched Caribbees. A species of barbarity was resorted to in order to accomplish this atrocious act, of which it is impossible to speak in terms of due abhorrence, and I wish we could wipe from our country's annals so foul a stain.

It was so late as 1790 that bloodhounds were brought from Cuba for the purpose of hunting down these unfortunate creatures (Maroons), like beasts of prey, at Jamaica. The particulars of the horrid murders thus inflicted may be seen in a book published by Colonel Quarrell, called 'The Maroon War in Jamaica.'¹

¹ There is no such book by Colonel Quarrell ; what is referred to is probably *The History of the Maroons* (2 vols. 8vo. 1803) by R. C. Dallas, who dedicated it to Quarrell, and wrote in the

After a plentiful dinner, and unrestrained indulgence in their love of ardent spirits, the royal savages, our visitors on board the *Pegasus*, were so excited that their company became exceedingly disagreeable and even dangerous. The Prince therefore hastened their departure, and having presented the king with a fowling-piece, and a very handsome pair of pistols, they took their leave just sober enough to get over the side with some help from our men. We found afterwards that their conduct when landed was anything but peaceable, or decent. Her Majesty and her daughters stripped to cleanse and cool themselves by bathing close to our launch, then busy filling casks of water. We were all

preface that Quarrell suggested the work and was the chief source of his information. 'His authority will have full weight when it is known that he served in the Maroon war; that he was the commissioner sent to Cuba for the Spanish chasseurs, and afterwards the commissary entrusted with the removal of the Maroons from Jamaica to Nova Scotia. . . . To make myself master of the subject, I not only repeatedly talked with him upon it, but I requested and obtained copious notes, and I wrote the greater part of the book while we were under the same roof. The notes were so full that I wished him to arrange and publish them under his own name; but to this he was averse, and I therefore undertook the task.' The book may thus very well have lived in Byam Martin's memory as by Quarrell, the more so as his recollections of it seem to have been altogether hazy. The war was in 1795, not 1790; the dogs were not bloodhounds and are not described as such; so far from disapproving of them, it was Quarrell who proposed that they should be brought, and who actually brought them; while as to 'the horrid murders thus inflicted,' Dallas (vol. ii. pp. 168-70) expressly says 'Hostilities were concluded without recourse being once had to the assistance of the chasseurs, beyond the operation of the terror they inspired. . . . One knows not which to admire most—the activity and address with which they were procured or the humanity that prevented their being employed in action. To the skill, temper, and benevolence of General Walpole are the colonists indebted for this bloodless triumph, and to William Dawes Quarrell are they indebted for suggesting and procuring the means by which the island was saved from destruction.'

made sensible of the advantage it would have been to us if this ablution had taken place previous to their visit.

The commander-in-chief on the Leeward Islands station, Sir Richard Hughes,¹ had sailed for England a little time before the arrival of the Pegasus in those seas, and the command devolved on the senior captain, Horatio Nelson, of the Boreas, a small frigate of 28 guns. It was then that an intimacy commenced between the Prince and his humble brother officer, who at no distant period was to fill so large a space in the public eye, and whose glory is destined to hold an imperishable place in the most brilliant part of our naval history. He whose splendid and matchless achievements will be remembered with admiration while there is gratitude in the hearts of Britons or while a ship floats upon the ocean. He whose example on the breaking out of the war [1793] gave so chivalrous an impulse to the younger men of the service that all rushed into a rivalry of enterprise which disdained every warning of prudence, and led to acts of heroic enterprise which tended greatly to exalt the glory of our nation.

It was no uncommon thing to find officers impelled by Nelson's example, but without his keen, discriminating eye, pushing forward, unable to distinguish between a bold but practicable object and one utterly impracticable; but it was, perhaps, better that the latter should be the case than chill the ardour of the officer by the calculations of prudence which commonly characterise a council of

¹ It was Hughes with whom Nelson had the dispute about putting in force the Navigation Act, by which the United States were prohibited trading with the West Indies in the way they had done when still British colonies. Nelson maintained quite correctly that an Act of Parliament is superior to an admiral's order; but the doctrine is a difficult one for a naval officer to give effect to.

war. Many an enterprise was undertaken in the last war which every rule of prudence would have forbidden, but which, from the very audacity of the assault, so astounded the enemy as to be the cause of complete success. When these feats of heroism were almost of daily occurrence, I remember a young lieutenant, who was never backward on such occasions, said with some truth, 'A fellow has now no chance of promotion unless he jumps into the muzzle of a gun and crawls out of the touch-hole.'

But to return to the more immediate subject of this chapter.

The King boasts to this day of his uninterrupted intimacy with Nelson from the time of their meeting in 1786. This, however, must be received with due allowance for his Majesty's rapid way of speaking, which sometimes took bounds beyond the strict limits of veracity. I think I may confidently say there was a great break in their intercourse for several years, and that it never revived until Nelson's laurels began to blossom in 1793.¹

At the time of their meeting in 1786 Captain Nelson was twenty-eight years of age, seven years older than the Prince. His frame was singularly slight, and it gave him so wasted and emaciated an appearance that those eligible to promotion made no concealment of their expectation of an early vacancy.

Happily for our country their expectations were disappointed, and Nelson thought so much better of

¹ Byam Martin was mistaken. The letters printed in Nicolas's *Dispatches and Letters of Viscount Nelson* are sufficient to show that a friendly, if occasional correspondence between Nelson and the prince was maintained during the years 1787-92. B. Martin, too, has already (*ante*, p. 28) spoken of the prince's taking as midshipmen only the sons of old shipmates and deserving officers, and (*ante*, p. 31) of his lifelong friendship for Sir Richard Keats. Cf. also vol. iii. pp. 99, 105, 264.

his own stamina that, on our arrival at Nevis, he took to himself the buxom widow of Dr. Nisbet, M.D., who had at the time some beauty, and a freshness of countenance not common in that climate ; but there was so remarkable an absence of intellectual endowment as to make it evident that Nelson's sagacious eye was content to dwell upon the blooming cheeks, without going in search of the better graces which give permanence to conjugal felicity.

The breath of slander never touched the character of this unfortunate lady ; she was in all her duties correct, and beyond question a devoted and affectionate wife. As the companion of a humble captain she would have walked her even course of propriety unnoticed, and in quiet contentment ; but alas ! a different fate awaited her. She was not of a turn of mind to keep pace with the ardent, ambitious hero of the Nile, whose youthful spirit of enterprise revived with the war, and gave scope to a desire of fame which soon extinguished all the joys of wedded love.

A change took place in the conduct of our royal captain on reaching the Leeward Islands station, which to this day I have never been able to account for. It was as discreditable to him as it was unjust and disagreeable to all on board. I may safely affirm that there was not a person in the ship who did not wish earnestly to do whatever might be most pleasing to the Prince, and best promote his credit as our captain.

When a cheerful obedience prevails in a ship, or in a regiment, and every energy put forth out of respect to the individual in command, is it possible to conceive anything more touching, more endearing to a British officer, and above all, one would think, to a British prince ? With what joy would an officer in command,

in humbler life, have shown his sense of such feelings, and thus, by making the harmony complete, give to the service the benefit of seeing what a good and gracious thing it is to rule with mildness over willing minds, rather than play the tyrant.

We looked in vain for the cause of this sudden change in the Prince's conduct. Some thought Captain Nelson at the bottom of it, but I am convinced not one of those who entertained such an opinion did so otherwise than as the transient suspicion of the moment ; it soon became evident that every professional example to be borrowed from Nelson would tend to the comfort and satisfaction of all classes.

We had scarcely time to look round us after arriving in the West Indies before the first lieutenant, Schomberg (afterwards a commissioner of the navy), was put under close arrest ; and Lieutenant Hope (Sir William) being disposed to resist such arbitrary conduct was removed to the *Boreas*, she being the first ship to go home.

William IV.'s anger was rarely levelled against those who acted a bold, decisive part, and Hope was the first after the king's accession to receive marks of royal favour. He was made Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, and soon after a Privy Councillor.¹

Poor Schomberg's² confinement was enforced

¹ A honour very rarely (if ever) conferred on a naval officer for work afloat.

² Cf. *post*, p. 84. The public knows little, or perhaps nothing, of this affair beyond what appears in Nicolas's *Dispatches of Lord Nelson*. This, however, is only the fringe of the quarrel between Prince William and his first lieutenant, which had been going on for several months. Given that Schomberg, an old lieutenant of distinguished war service, was—according to the custom of the day—appointed to the *Pegasus* to be the dry nurse of his young but high-born captain, and on the other hand that that young

with unwarrantable severity, not only to his great personal discomfort, but to the injury of his health ; he was only allowed to walk on the main-deck in that little frigate. All the grown-up midshipmen were at this time out of favour at court, as it was called, but I forget the cause of it. The invitations to the royal table were confined to a few of the younger members of the fraternity, and for a short time I was of the number, till it came to the knowledge of the Prince that I had been guilty of the great crime of visiting my kind imprisoned friend, not as a new thing, for Schomberg's excellent little library was always free of access to those who desired to profit by it, but I was always glad to go to him when I could. I was rather a green hand, unskilled in the sycophancy of the courtier, and knew not that a royal frown cast upon an unfortunate wight was to make him to be shunned by his friends. But I was soon tutored on this point by an injunction not to renew my visit, or to accept any invitation to dine with the officers ; and for the offence I have described I was no longer to be invited to the royal table, so that my season of fashion, and dinnering, was very soon brought to an end ; which I thought no joke (though others did), for I had a very respectable mid.'s appetite, and the larder of our mess was not very sumptuously supplied.

captain was resolved to be not only his own captain but his own first lieutenant also, difficulties could not but arise. An examination of the whole correspondence, as it was submitted to Commodore Gardner at Jamaica, in addition to that printed in the *Nelson Dispatches*, leads to the conclusion that Nelson was—it may be unconsciously—influenced by the Prince's rank, and that, if he had been able to take the calmer view of the case that Gardner did, he would have seen that, in the Prince's interest, it was imperative on him to prevent a court-martial which would probably have ruined Schomberg, but would certainly have raised a disastrous storm round the Prince's head. The Secretary informs me that he hopes to print this interesting correspondence, *in extenso*, in the next volume of the *Miscellany*.

Orders were daily issued of a nature frivolous in conception and vexatious in operation. Officers of the ship were not to be allowed to go on shore for the mere recreation of a walk, without first entering their names in a book kept on the quarter-deck for the purpose. They were to state the exact time of going on shore and the object in desiring such indulgence. On returning on board he was again to enter his name, and insert the precise moment of his return, so that he might be called to account if it exceeded the time allowed.

The midshipmen, poor devils! were spared this sort of degradation, as an order, well suited to the temper of the times, forbade them to ask leave to go out of the ship at all. The only relaxation of this prison was at the time in English Harbour, Antigua; and at the instance of the manager of the Green Castle estate I was allowed to go there for a day to take charge of some papers to take home.

About this time the Prince contrived to pick a quarrel with a clever, unoffending German artist, who came from Sir John Orde, the Governor of Dominica, recommended to the gracious notice and protection of his Royal Highness. I think he was a native of Hanover, but it was scarcely necessary to have that additional claim to the Prince's favour, as the talents and conduct of the gentleman had gained him the greatest respect and esteem in the colonies he had previously visited. He was a man of pleasing address and unobtrusive manners, travelling quietly in search of scenery for a collection of paintings—an excursion which few would risk for such a purpose, though the scenery amongst the islands offers great temptation.

This ill-fated German had no sooner arrived in English Harbour than he acceded to the wish of the Prince to take up his abode on board the *Pegasus*

to make some sketches, and a corner of the cabin was set apart for the drawing table. Matters had not been long comfortably arranged in this manner, when something occurred to make his Royal Highness very angry ; but even admitting some fault or provocation on the part of the visitor, nothing could warrant the cruel infliction of corporal punishment by a cat-o'-nine tails, and still less the ignominious application of it to that part of the human body called the seat of honour.

The poor German, still smarting under the sting of the cat and burning with ire, lost not a moment, when landed, in seeking that redress which happily the British law presents to the injured of every class, whether native or alien ; that glorious law which brings all to an intelligible level on questions of right and wrong, and especially as regards personal protection. Thus the humblest stranger, however transient his visit, partakes for the time of the blessings we enjoy as fully as if he were born a Briton. A lawyer at Antigua, whose name I do not recollect, became the zealous and faithful advocate of this much-injured man, whose forgiving temper made the matter to pass off more quietly than was due to such severe and disgusting treatment. The fleshy wounds were healed by a plaster which put the prince to the inconvenience of raising some hundred of pounds.

About this time, Commodore Parker (the late Sir William), who afterwards commanded the Audacious in the battle of the 29th of May, 1794, had arrived to take the command [of the station] as captain of the Jupiter of fifty guns, with what was called a ten-shilling blue pennant,¹ and soon after

¹ As a second class commodore, who had not a captain, and only 10s. a day table money, instead of 3*l.* a day as a commodore of the first class had.

Captain Horatio Nelson in the *Boreas* returned to England.

Amongst the few captains we had on the station was Captain Wilfrid Collingwood, commanding a sloop of war. Like his brother the late lord, he was very slender and of a delicate constitution; he too was the friend of Nelson, who had to lament his death a few weeks after our arrival on the station.

The names of Nelson and Collingwood seem to have gone very much in connection with each other throughout their services, showing in a remarkable manner how officers are sometimes accidentally associated from first to last in their professional career—at least that one will often follow close upon the heels of the other.

When Nelson as a lieutenant was removed from the Lowestoft frigate to the Bristol, the flagship of Sir Peter Parker, Cuthbert Collingwood was appointed to his vacancy in the Lowestoft. In the same year, when Nelson was promoted to the rank of commander and appointed to the Badger sloop, Collingwood was placed in the vacancy on board the Bristol. When Nelson was made post into the *Hinchinbroke*, Collingwood succeeded to the command of the Badger. When Nelson fell so gloriously at Trafalgar, Collingwood was his gallant second. Each led their respective divisions into battle, and the opinion the one entertained of the other may be collected from the brief but noble compliment each paid to the other at that moment. Collingwood leading the lee line was the first to rush into the battle, and just as he was within pistol-shot of the Spanish admiral he touched his captain (Rotheram) on the shoulder and said, 'What would Nelson give to be here!' Nelson at the same moment cried out, 'Look at

that noble fellow Collingwood, how he leads his division into action!' Nelson's nobleness of mind was a prominent and beautiful part of his character. His foibles—faults if you please—will never be dealt upon in any memoranda of mine. The biographical historian may trace in the private life of this intrepid seaman, instances to show that human firmness and human weakness may have their alternate sway in one and the same person. The glorious and distinguished leader in every battle, he whose matchless example so often inspired others with the same dauntless courage, he who in rushing into the fight calls to the recollection of his fleet that 'England expects [that] every man will do his duty,' he whose firmness has done so much for the benefit of his country, may, alas! and did in fact, fail in duty to himself under other circumstances. All these great qualities may vanish when the scene is suddenly changed, and even Nelson himself, the hero of so many battles, was vanquished when assailed by the bewitching and fascinating powers of Lady Hamilton.

Nothing engaged the compassionate consideration of Nelson more than a brother officer pointed at, and condemned by public clamour without a trial; of this there is an interesting proof in his behaviour to Sir Robert Calder after the unfortunate action with the combined French and Spanish fleets off Ferrol in the midsummer of 1805.

Sir Robert had his flag flying on board the Prince of Wales, of 98 guns, and had recently arrived off Cadiz to reinforce Lord Nelson's fleet. A few days afterwards an order arrived from the admiralty directing Sir Robert Calder's return to Spithead to take the trial he himself had solicited. Lord Nelson desired Calder to come to him, meaning to put into his hand the order of recall, if he

could not prevail on him first to take the benefit of the great battle then hourly expected.

Nelson with the frank and generous feeling so natural to him said, 'Sir Robert, I am confident the combined fleets will put to sea in a few days, and instead of your returning to England so immediately, you will have a glorious opportunity of answering the imputations cast upon your character. I am sure we shall have an action in a few days, and I entreat you not to lose the opportunity to reinstate yourself in the public esteem.'

Poor Calder, who was a wrong-headed, and consequently often a wrong-judging, man, could not be prevailed upon to take Lord Nelson's advice; he urged in excuse the necessity of losing no time in vindicating his character, and his anxious desire to submit his case to a court-martial. Nelson could not prevail upon him to see that he had immediately at hand the quickest and the noblest way of setting matters right. Lord Nelson, finding all entreaty in vain, told Sir Robert he would allow him to go home in the Prince of Wales, as he would not break in upon his personal comfort, or take from him that tranquillity which was so necessary to him, in considering of the account he had to give before his judges. Lord Nelson added, 'I feel that I incur a great responsibility in parting with a three-decker, for even with the Prince of Wales my force is inferior to that of the combined fleets. It is their superiority in numbers which makes them desirous to lose no time in bringing on an action, and as I have the same desire, I am sure our meeting cannot be long delayed.'

'You shall have your Prince of Wales,' said Nelson, 'instead of a frigate for your passage home, and you take with you my best wishes.' No man but Nelson would have dared to take upon himself

so great a responsibility as to part with a three-decker under such circumstances.¹ The foregoing circumstances I had from Lord Nelson's captain, Sir Thomas Hardy. This is one of the proofs of Nelson's happy way of gaining the affectionate attachment of all who had the happiness to serve under his command. I never conversed with any officer of his fleet without hearing the most hearty expressions of admiration of his conciliatory manner to all, and his frank way of conversing with his captains respecting the movements of the fleet. A letter I had from a distinguished officer² commanding one of the ten sail of the line with which Nelson pursued a French fleet of double his force to the W. Indies. My friend remarked, 'We are all half starved and otherwise much inconvenienced by being so long away from a port, but our recompense is—that we are with Nelson.'

It was thus that Sir R. Calder, regardless of Lord Nelson's delicate and generous advice, lost an opportunity to redeem a character impugned by the public voice, and subsequently tarnished by the sentence of a court-martial. Some people thought his conduct harshly judged by the court, but I can never believe that a set of gentlemen of high rank and honour, bound by every motive, public and private, and under the solemn obligations of an oath to vote according to their conscience and the best of their understanding, could give a verdict in any way prejudiced. It would appear by the minutes of the court that nothing was refused that could tend

¹ I cannot think that Nelson was right in this. National interests should be considered before private feelings; and at that very time he was urging the Admiralty to send him more ships; he felt sure of a victory, he wrote, 'but only numbers could annihilate.' It is impossible to say what gain might not have resulted from the presence of another and fast-sailing three-decker at Trafalgar.

² Sir Robert Stopford.

to his justification, and the judgment of the court seems to grow clearly out of the facts of the case as stated in evidence.

Those friends of Calder's who blame the judgment of the court, perhaps formed their opinion less with reference to the merits of his particular case than by a comparison of his conduct with others, and in this view they may have been fairly struck with the unequal hand by which the scale of reward is often held. Calder's friends remarked with truth that Admiral Hotham, with a fleet superior to that of the enemy, captured two sail of the line and obtained a peerage.¹ That Calder with a fleet inferior to the enemy captured two sail of the line, and was obliged to seek an investigation of his conduct, in the hope of removing the censure by which he was assailed by the press and throughout the country.

Admiral Hotham had 14 sail of the line, of which four were three-deckers. The French fleet 15 sail of the line, including one three-decker only.

Sir Robert Calder had 15 sail of the line, four of them three-deckers. The combined fleets opposed to him consisted of 20 sail of the line, but no three-decker.

The one event took place in 1795,² on the 14th of March, the anniversary of the execution of Admiral Byng, but that tragic event was not perhaps in Admiral Hotham's recollection, or his success might have been more complete. The intervening ten years had been filled by a succession of brilliant victories, and acts of personal enterprise

¹ Hotham's previous career had been a distinguished one ; Calder's respectable. Had he resumed the action and gained another victory, Trafalgar would probably never have been fought.

² Honours in the early stages of a war are much more easily acquired than in the later ; also in small wars lasting for a few weeks only, than in large and prolonged wars.

which raised our naval character to the highest pitch of glory. The battle of St. Vincent, March 1797, in which Nelson bore so conspicuous a part; the battle of Camperdown, October 1797; of the Nile, August 1798; and of Copenhagen, 1801, had all occurred since Hotham's affair, and had wrought in the public mind feelings of national glory and naval pride that could not brook anything short of the same smashing success; therefore no wonder that what was deemed a victory in 1795 should be stigmatised in 1805 as an indecisive contest, or something worse.

Sir R. Calder some years after was appointed to the command at Plymouth, a considerate attention justly paid to him by that truly upright man Mr. Yorke, then first lord of the admiralty, who intended by this act of grace to wipe away the reproach which was so constantly irritating to Calder's feelings.

It may be tiresome to pursue an account of the chances of good fortune, or otherwise, which our fickle profession occasions, and too often to the mortification of some of our most active and meritorious officers. I will therefore only mention one more instance, which just now occurs to me.

When I commanded the blockading squadron off Ferrol and Corunna in 1800 or 1801, the present Sir Charles Rowley joined the squadron in command of a fine frigate, the *Boadicea*. He had been at sea almost constantly since the commencement of the war, 1793, cruising with a zeal and activity that deserved better luck, for according to his own words 'he had never seen a shot fired in anger, or even the flag of an enemy.' And I do not recollect any instance of his being more fortunate after he left my squadron.

It so happened to the great joy of Rowley (my

oldest shipmate for three years as a midshipman) that when he joined I had just matured a plan for cutting some ships out of Corunna harbour, which I intended to carry into execution the night that he joined. He was delighted at the prospect of thus giving a good turn to his luckless career. The attack had long engaged my attention. I proposed it first to that excellent man and best of officers, Captain Keats (now Sir Richard), who at the time commanded the squadron. Sir Richard denounced it in somewhat strong terms, as a rash and unwarrantable enterprise, with the certainty of a great sacrifice of life ; he said it was so hazardous that he would on no account adopt such a proposal. I told him I would not attempt to urge his consent after so decided an objection, but begged he would allow me to state my reason for believing the attempt would prove successful, without the loss of a man ; that if I could see in it the hazards he apprehended I should indeed be sorry to be the author of such an attempt.

There was no man in the service for whom I had higher respect than Keats ; he was once my captain, and always my friend. His opinion was often taken upon professional matters, and relied upon with just confidence in the soundness of his judgment. On the occasion in question he started with an instant objection to my proposal, and obstinately maintained it. I had therefore only to beg he would keep his opinion to himself, as it would tell awkwardly for me if the attempt failed, or was attended with serious loss of life, and I had fully made up my mind to make the attack when I should succeed to the command of the squadron.

My reason for persisting in this enterprise was, that the ports of Corunna and Ferrol had been blockaded more than five years without the slightest

indication of any attack upon them, and I was convinced the Spaniards were so completely off their guard as to give every reason to calculate on cutting out their ships without loss of life. All this was stated to Keats, and I told him that having conceived the plan I thought it but fair to give him the opportunity of carrying it out. The night of the day that Sir C. Rowley joined and Keats resigned the command to me, I acted at once upon my already matured plan. I communicated to the captains of the squadron, viz. the late Sir R. King, Griffith Colpoys, Rowley, and some others, the plan of attack, and desired they would explain it to the officers and men, and make them sensible of the exceeding importance of strict silence. They were to invite the officers and petty officers to ask for information if any doubt arose as to the whole design, and everything was so fully explained by the captains as to make me quite easy as to the thorough understanding of my plan.

The boats of the squadron were to come to the Fisgard soon after dusk, being then, as usual, close off Corunna to tack off for the night, and the other ships were to stand out to sea as soon as their boats left them, and be ready to come to my succour if needful. The command of the boats was given to the first lieutenant [of the Fisgard], Philip Pipon, and with him a man speaking the Spanish language with native accent and accuracy. This man was tutored as to the short reply he should give if hailed by the sentinel we had observed was always posted at the end of the pier which it was necessary to pass within a short distance in going into the harbour.

Having thus taken every precaution that could tend to make success certain, and favoured by the great darkness of the night, I steered in for the Corunna lighthouse just in the jog-trot habit of

our blockade for so many years. The officers in each boat being made acquainted with my intentions, knew at once where to find the Fisgard in case of any adverse occurrence. It was a main feature in the plan to anchor the Fisgard at the back of the lighthouse, and it was the most hazardous part of it, as it was difficult to take up a position close to the light without a risk of getting entangled amongst the breakers. So that the darkness, which gave the best hope of effecting the great burglary undiscovered, required very anxious caution in guessing our distance from the shore.

The object in taking up this position had been fully stated to all the officers to be for the purpose of opening a tremendous fire in order to draw the troops to the place which they would take for the point of attack, and leave the boats unmolested ; but the firing of broadsides was not to commence until the fire of the first musket in the harbour should make known that the boats were discovered.

The boats were sent off in a string (17 in number), each fast to one another to prevent straggling in the dark, and ordered not to separate until fairly in the harbour. Every light on board the Fisgard was put out, but not so on board the squadron in the offing. The shot was carefully drawn from every gun,¹ being as unwilling needlessly to take the life of an enemy as I was cautious not to hazard the lives of my own men.

By good luck perhaps more than good judgment the ship could not have been anchored in a better position had it been broad daylight ; the anchor, which had been previously hanging a cockbill,² was

¹ In war time guns are always kept shotted at sea, so as to be ready for instant action. Accidents have occasionally happened in firing salutes, from carelessness, in not drawing the shot.

² By the cathead stopper only.

lowered down to the hawse-hole to prevent a splash, and a profound silence prevailed throughout the ship. A single voice if more than a whisper might have been heard on shore. A spring was on the cable to keep the broadside of the ship fronting the town. Presently a musket in the harbour made us aware that the boats were discovered, and instantly our harmless broadsides were fired, and continued in rapid succession until I was informed that our work had been accomplished. The first fire set the drums of the garrison and the church bells at work, and our broadsides soon made the natives aware of an attack, but before the Spaniards could well get their eyes open. The garrison attracted by our heavy firing gave their whole attention to us, leaving the boats quietly to do their work. They brought out two ships, another vessel and two gun-boats. The ship was quite new and just equipped for a voyage to South America, stores and everything complete ; she was pierced for 20 guns. Had this affair taken place the night before, we should have captured all the ladies of the place and neighbourhood, as there was a ball and supper on board the new ship ; I was however very glad such living treasures did not fall to our lot. This enterprise was effected as I had predicted without loss or injury to any man engaged in it, and I was happy to think the precautions I had taken rendered it equally harmless to the Spaniards, as far as life was concerned.¹

Thus I close my few samples of the chances of our lottery-like service ; this instance of it shows that while Charles Rowley had never before been

¹ The official letter (*post*, p. 293), reporting this admirably planned, and as admirably executed, scheme, as herein detailed, is very modest and unassuming ; too much so, as it does not do justice to the merits of all concerned.

engaged in any attack upon an enemy, it was my better fortune, without any greater merit, to make some capture, and often many, every cruise.

[To return to our cruise.] Nothing could exceed the good feeling and hospitality of all classes of people throughout the Leeward Islands,¹ of which we, the dutiful and loyal inhabitants of the cock-pit, had some share when the restraint upon our going on shore was relaxed. This was unavoidably the case at Antigua, for after completing a tour of the islands, all hands were obliged to live on shore for a couple of months, while the ship was under repair alongside the wharf in English Harbour. We were lodged in what is called the Capstan House, situated on the careening wharf immediately opposite to the dockyard, and at a distance of about four hundred yards. The prince lived in the dockyard in a house formerly occupied by a resident commissioner, called the 'Maintop,' but better known under the appellation of 'Cockroach Hall' from its swarming with those creatures. His Royal Highness, however, was not much exposed to their annoyance, as a good deal of his time was spent with the governor, and some of the principal inhabitants, who contrived to make everything very agreeable to their illustrious visitor. Amongst the many festivities which enlivened our stay at Antigua was one given by the Athill family, on the occasion of Captain Sir Richard Bickerton's² marriage to the beautiful Miss Athill. It was a very grand affair, in which the whole community of

¹ The West Indian Islands from Martinique to the Virgin Islands; those to the southward being called the Windward Islands.

² Afterwards Lord Nelson's second in command in the Mediterranean, and left in command by Nelson, when he started on his chase of Villeneuve to the West Indies.

the colony were brought together, and perhaps no assembly in any quarter of the globe, so limited in numbers, ever exhibited so many beautiful and lovely women. Several of them afterwards in England were so matchless in their dazzling charms and so exemplary in conduct as to cause quite a sensation when they appeared in London. Such jewels were far too precious to find their value in colonial society ; the fathers, therefore, remained abroad to get up the ways and means to meet the London expenses, whilst the mothers proceeded to England to join in the higher and more refined circles. Mrs. Elliot, the wife of a gentleman of considerable estates, but in crippled circumstances, soon proceeded to England with her four daughters, all in their different ways remarkably handsome, and very engaging in their manners. The eldest was soon married to Sir Harry Cosby, another to Lord Le Despencer, a third to Lord Erroll, and the fourth to Mr. ¹ The Elliots and my family are related, but I know so little of those matters that I am unable to say in what degree of consanguinity we stand.²

While these gaieties were going on at St. John's³ and other parts of the island, the ship's company at English Harbour⁴ became exceedingly sickly, so that half the men were at the hospital at one time, and a good many of them died. Some of the midshipmen had a touch of the fever, but none died. English Harbour is a very close, unwholesome place, and I think Bermuda ought to be considered as the refitting port for the ships on the Leeward

¹ Blank in MS.

² Mrs. Elliot was the daughter of Colonel William Byam of Byams in Antigua (G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, s.n. Erroll).

³ Capital of Antigua.

⁴ Where the dockyard is situated.

Islands station ; they can almost always cross the trades with a flowing sheet, so as to get to it in a very short time if needing speedy repair.¹

In consequence of not having enough of ships on the Leeward Islands station to form a court-martial, Captain Nelson ordered the Pegasus to Jamaica, that Commodore Gardner (afterwards Lord Gardner) might deal with Schomberg's case as he should see fit. Commodore Gardner, with that good feeling for all parties, and that propriety of conduct and decision which governed his proceedings on all occasions, exerted his influence and authority to bring about a reconciliation, and so far succeeded that it was agreed the application for a court-martial should be withdrawn by Schomberg, and that he should leave the ship, and it turned out fortunately for him as he arrived in England just in time to go to India as first lieutenant of the Crown with Commodore Cornwallis, and was very soon made a commander.² Upon the termination of this disagreeable affair the present Admiral Sir William Hargood became our first lieutenant.

Things being thus settled we had nothing to do but to be gay during the fortnight we remained at Jamaica. The lieutenant-governor, the late [General] Sir Alured Clarke, gave the prince a splendid dinner and ball, at which I was present, and some others of the mids. It was given at Spanish Town, the seat of government, about eight miles from the landing place at Fort Augusta.³ The presence of the Hon. Captain Chetwynd, of the Expedition of 44 guns, at that party, and his death within a few hours after, made a deep and im-

¹ From long experience on that station I quite concur.

² One of the instances of the chances and vicissitudes of naval service.

³ One of the principal sea defences of Port Royal.

movable impression on my mind. He was the senior captain on the station, a person of agreeable and accomplished manners, and what is commonly called a kind, good-tempered man ; but alas ! all his advantage of birth and his many amiable properties were rendered valueless by his propensity to drink—he was a confirmed drunkard.

This detestable brutalising vice, now but rarely, if ever, known in good society, is most pernicious when found to be the habit of an officer, and especially one in command, who is bound by every obligation of morality and public duty to show an example of virtue and propriety of conduct. The second article of war emphatically admonishes us upon this point, in words which ought to be deeply impressed upon our minds on first entering the service, viz. ‘ All flag-officers and all persons in or belonging to his Majesty’s ships being guilty of profane oaths, cursing, drunkenness, or other scandalous actions in derogation of God’s honour and corruption of good manners, shall incur such punishment as a court-martial shall think fit to inflict.’ Drunkenness in a captain must be destructive of discipline in his own ship, and has a tendency to mislead other captains and inferior officers, if they have not such self-control as to resist hospitality offered to them on such terms. I am sorry to say Chetwynd was not without his followers, and, as far as I have kept sight of them in after-life, they were not only disreputable to the service, but altogether worthless as public men.

On the day of the ball Chetwynd was the gayest of the gay ; excited by drink, his mirth was excessive. He thought not of death and of the reckoning that must follow. The entertainment was perhaps on Thursday ; on Friday he was attacked with yellow fever, and in the course of that night his mortal career closed ; time had come to an end, and eternity,

whatever may be his doom, commenced within forty-eight hours from the time that he was taking the lead, and seemed to be the life of the party. Thus was he numbered with the dead and laid in his grave the same evening.

Captain John Cooke, who was killed, captain of the *Bellerophon*, in the battle of *Trafalgar*, was at the time the first lieutenant of the Expedition, and Sir Harry Burrard Neale the second; but, though young, were never tempted by their captain's example to swerve from that correct and gentleman-like deportment which ever marked their characters, and rendered them so estimable and respected in all classes of society.

The melancholy event which I have just related occasioned a promotion which included my old school-fellow Alan Gardner, the commodore's eldest son. Captain Henry Nicholls (the late Admiral Sir Henry) was made post into the *Amphion*, Captain Brown having been removed from that ship to the Expedition, and Gardner was appointed to the command of the *Cygnet* sloop of war.

The splendid style of living amongst the planters of *Jamaica* was very striking. A sort of rivalry prevailed with many of the most wealthy, but Mr. Mitchell, late of *Harley Street*, was so distinguished by profuseness of hospitality that he had, by common consent, and by way of eminence, the title of 'King Mitchell'; others, however, came so near him, that they might fairly be considered as members of the royal family of *Jamaica*. The Prince visited several of these gentlemen unattended, as far as I recollect, by any person belonging to the ship, but we came in for our share of the good things with less ceremony and in a manner more agreeable than if we had formed the royal train.

The negro population at the time alluded to

seemed happy, contented, and cheerful. They were better provided for than many thousands of labourers in England, and I verily believe better than any of the lower classes in Ireland, who will ever be the most wretched of all slaves so long as the country continues subject to the rule of a vicious papist priesthood.

Soon after the time when we were at Jamaica (1787), Mr. Wilberforce, with truly benevolent and pious intentions, commenced his humane and ultimately successful efforts for the abolition of the slave trade, which, to his endless honour and the honour of the nation, was finally extinguished in 1807. At that time Mr. Wilberforce and those who took a prominent part in the question repeatedly declared they had no ulterior object beyond the abolition of the trade. They deprecated emancipation as a measure fraught with danger, and this in some degree allayed the fears of the Government, and inclined them to Wilberforce's views. Nor indeed were the planters adverse to the abolition of the trade, for they had on former occasions publicly represented to the Government the shameful extent to which it was carried, and they were reprimanded by the colonial secretary for doing so, yet afterwards they were stigmatised as the cruel promoters of the trade.

That the traffic in human flesh, though black in colour, should cease, was a proposition that no Christian legislature could resist. The carrying this point soon raised such a feeling throughout the kingdom that meetings were held in order to petition Parliament at once to let loose the whole slave population by emancipation, and Wilberforce, the fluent and eloquent Wilberforce, became their mouthpiece in the House of Commons, although he had so recently deprecated such a measure. Some-

times perhaps indiscreet, but always actuated by the best of motives, his enthusiasm overlooked all the dangers of the question, and he pressed forward in the scheme of emancipation, convinced, in his own mind, that the work of humanity would be incomplete without it.

The actual emancipation of 800,000 slaves except by some gradual process is a thing that cannot be contemplated without a dread of its consequences. Those who by industry and good conduct can earn enough to purchase freedom would show, by that very fact, that they are fit to be free, and capable of maintaining themselves ; but the negroes are, as a people, indolent, vicious, and disposed to theft, therefore to let loose the whole population will be to jeopardise the lives of the whites and the loss of the colonies. I am no advocate for slavery : I rejoice that the trade is abolished. It was iniquitous in its origin, and it was our duty to our God, and to our country to wipe from the statute book the stain of such criminal legislation. But the Parliament having encouraged British subjects during one hundred and fifty years in the cultivation of sugar plantations, and in the importation into the colonies of slaves from Africa, I contend that the passing an Act now to deprive them of their property, without a full compensation, will be a species of spoliation calculated to render all property insecure.¹

If in England a canal or railroad bill is introduced, the Parliament is remarkable for the jealousy with which it protects private property, and full compensation is paid for land taken for such purposes. Any projector feeling himself aggrieved by the insufficiency of the proposed compensation can demand a jury to assess the amount of compensa-

¹ The Emancipation Act was passed in August 1833. This must have been written before that date.

tion. So, if the Government requires the property of any individual to erect public works, or for any other purpose, the Parliament gives such protection that a jury may be demanded, and the Government made to pay according to the assessment of the jury. Why is it that the West Indian proprietors are those only who are excluded from this act of justice? It is no fair answer to say that the magnitude of the sum is the objection. West India property, whether land or slave, stands protected by the same laws as property in England, and ought to be considered equally sacred. If the country cannot afford an adequate compensation to the slave-owners, the question must drop until some means can be found to raise funds for the purpose of this great purchase; but I suspect the impatient zeal of the abolitionists will urge the Parliament to make light of the robbery of the white men, in order to emancipate the blacks. Any Act of Parliament which may deprive West India proprietors of slave labour will be a cruel injustice, unless accompanied by an Act interdicting the importation from other countries of any article which may be manufactured by slave labour. If this be not done the abolition of slavery in our own colonies will be a direct bounty to slave-owners elsewhere. This observation applies to the East Indies, where I am told the sugar plantations are worked by slaves, as well as to the Brazils, from whence great quantities of sugar come to this country.

The effect of the abolition of the slave trade, glorious and gratifying as it is to this country, has been the means of forcing it to a much greater extent by other nations, and their vessels are so shamefully crowded as greatly to aggravate the cruelty of this odious traffic. But, whatever might be the consequences as regards other nations, it was

the duty of England to wipe from the annals of her legislation that foul blot upon her Christian character which not only permitted, but encouraged, so barbarous and so shocking a trade.

The day before we sailed from Jamaica I went on shore to visit Mr. Wood, the surgeon of the hospital, who had sailed under the command of my father. Mr. Wood had just been called away to attend a poor black boy, who, while bathing, had his leg bit off by a shark alongside the dockyard. These monsters are always on the look-out for anything committed to the deep, and are known to follow slave ships the whole voyage from Africa¹ to the West Indies under the guidance of a pilot fish, so called from its being always in advance of the shark, just above the snout. I remember, when at the Island of St. Vincent, where a Guinea ship anchored with slaves on board, we caught a shark eighteen feet and an inch long which the people said had been playing about under the ship's stern throughout the voyage. We took from the inside of the creature two large pieces of brick, the handle and part of a hand swab, several human bones, and half the head of a butter firkin ; not very savoury or digestible food : but nothing comes amiss to the appetite of a shark, as we learn from a curious circumstance which occurred at Jamaica in the last war. One of our ships detained a ship under American colours on suspicion of her being French property. The case was carried before the court of admiralty at that place, and while the investigation was in progress, and at the moment when the captain of the vessel (an American) was swearing

¹ Sharks are very numerous off Lagos, in the Bight of Benin. A boy close to the beach had his leg taken off even in the surf, and also his hand which he had put down ; both leg and arm were amputated on board the man-of-war in the harbour.

through thick and thin as to the neutral character of the property, and supporting his false swearing by exhibiting false papers, there was brought into court a bundle of papers which had been taken out of the maw of a shark, and on unfolding them it was found that they were the actual *bona-fide* papers of this very ship which had been thrown out of the cabin window as the ship was entering Port Royal harbour. The American was so astonished and confounded that he was ready to sink into the floor. The ship and cargo were condemned as prize without further hesitation and proved a valuable capture. I am told the shark's jaw has ever since been hung up in the court of admiralty, and whenever an American is sworn the jaw is put over his head.

If a great splashing or noise be made in the water a shark will go away ; this has been proved on many occasions, and is well to be borne in mind in case of falling overboard.

We sailed from Jamaica with the Amphion, a ship that had been long under the command of Captain Brown, who was a good practical seaman and a scientific man. He was very full of contrivance and experiment about the sails and rigging of the ship. His idea was that if a sail could be made as flat as a board it would be to the advantage of the ship when sailing on a wind ; but he had great difficulty in getting the yards to bear the strain of hoisting the sail so taut up, and he sprung more topsail yards than the little dock-yard at Port Royal could well supply. There is no doubt that a topsail as at present cut, and indeed all the square sails have more belly when sailing upon

¹ The story is essentially true, but the details are differently told. The papers are now in the museum of the Royal United Service Institution.

a wind than is convenient, as in effect it makes the lee or after back a 'back sail,' and in a degree checks the progress of the ship. If sailing on a wind were the only point to be considered, Captain Brown's plan would be unobjectionable, except its liability to carry away the topsail yards, but I think it may be fairly argued that, when going from the wind, the belly of the sail is an advantage. When I was engaged in revising the rigging and store warrants of the navy, assisted by Sir Charles Penrose and Captain Wainwright, I brought this subject under consideration, and alterations were accordingly made in the cut of the sails approximating sufficiently to Captain Brown's plan.

Having passed through the Gulf of Florida the ships parted company, we to proceed to North America, and the *Amphion* to cruise. It was high time the ships should separate, as during the preceding night they had kept such close company as produced an awkward sort of collision. The wind was fresh and the sea sufficiently rough to make it dangerous to get on board each other, and the alarm, breaking at once beyond the bounds of good discipline, tended greatly to increase the danger; happily, however, the ships only just touched and escaped without much damage.

We had on this occasion a good lesson upon the inconvenience of a confusion of tongues in conducting naval operations. With proper composure, good seaman-like judgment, and promptness of decision, there was nothing in the position of the ships to make it difficult to keep clear of each other. But a great bellowing lieutenant, who seemed to have a hurricane pent up in his lungs, set the alarm going, and in a moment a multitude of voices were at work after the example of this boisterous man—in short it was an effort to see which could drown the

voice of the other. It is said that amidst a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, but there was no proof of it on this occasion. One might have thought the whole ship's company made up of doctors, for all seemed to differ in opinion: one crying out 'Port the helm,' another 'Starboard the helm,' a third 'Haul down the jib,' a fourth 'No, keep it fast,' a fifth 'I say haul down the jib and throw all aback,' 'No, sir,' replied the sixth, 'keep fast the jib, set the courses and weather her; luff, I say, and all is well.' This was the best advice and ought to have been adopted sooner, but it could not be heard until there was a lull of the voices.

By the way, this story reminds me of a somewhat similar circumstance when I commanded *L'Impétueux* off Cape Ortegal. We had with us as part of the squadron the *Malta*, a noble 84-gun ship, and the *Montagu*, of 74 guns. The former ship was commanded by Captain Sir Edward Buller,¹ who was no patron of temperance principles, and even in his sober moments about as much of a seaman as his grandmother. *Otway*,² on the contrary, who commanded the other ship, is an excellent officer and a thorough seaman. Sir Edward Pellew, who commanded the squadron, made a signal to 'wear' one evening when it was blowing very strong, and the *Malta* from gross mismanagement was as nearly as possible on board the *Montagu*. *Otway* ran into the stern gallery in order to say as much in the way of reproof as he could venture to do to a senior officer in so public a manner. He called out through the speaking trumpet, 'Buller, that is too near a shave.' Buller, not hearing what was said, ran for-

¹ Buller, a captain of 1790, was already a rear-admiral when he was made a baronet in 1808. He died, a vice-admiral, in 1824.

² Robert Waller *Otway*, died an admiral and G.C.B. in 1846.

ward to the forecastle, calling out impatiently, 'What does Captain Otway say?' An old thorough sailor, duly appreciating his captain's nautical acquirements (who was at the time coiling up a rope), promptly replied in a dry tone, 'He says, Buller, you are a damned lubber.' How true and how ready in old Jack, who went on quietly with his work leaving others to laugh at his wit. Buller, who was a good-natured man, told me this story himself. I am not wishing it to be inferred from this anecdote that any similar compliment was passed to the captain of the *Pegasus*; but it is not in the nature of things for a member of the royal family to become a thorough practical seaman, and his Royal Highness on the occasion before alluded to would have been better in his cot, for by coming on deck he only made confusion more confused.¹

Soon after arriving at Halifax the *Pegasus* and *Weasel* brig, the latter under the command of

¹ The late Admiral of the Fleet the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Edinburgh was unsurpassed in handling a fleet by any officer on the Navy list, unless by Sir Geoffrey Hornby, and was in every respect a thorough master of his profession, and very well informed on most points. When going through the inland sea of Japan in company with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Harry Keppel, his ship, the *Galatea*, got on shore. Sir Harry went on board, but did not interfere, as everything was being performed in a most seamanlike manner, of which there was no better judge, as he had been on shore oftener than any man in the service; but to his astonishment, when the bower anchor was laid out astern, the prince's first order was 'Go ahead full speed;' an unusual proceeding but most seamanlike, as it tautened the cable, and when he went astern, moved the ship in the bed, and evidently was the result of previous consideration. I mention it as it might be useful; it was highly approved by Keppel, who told it to me. A captain in China informed me when he got ashore on a dead lee shore, with too much sea on to lay out an anchor, he ran water into the ship till she stopped bumping, and when the gale was over pumped the water out and saved the ship. I afterwards read of this having been done over a hundred years previously.

Captain Samuel Hood,¹ were sent to Port Roseway, Spanish River and Louisbourg. The latter place was rendered interesting as the scene of some gallant exploits both military and naval, under Generals Amherst and Wolfe, and Admiral Boscawen in the year 1758.

The admiral sent the boats of the fleet into the harbour to board two French ships of the line. One division of the boats was commanded by Captain Laforey, afterwards Sir John ; the other by Captain Balfour, whose services were forgotten afterwards, just at the time when a due recollection of them would have spared him the mortification of losing his flag in the promotion in 1787—an unjust and hard lot. The ships were carried in gallant style ; the *Bienfaisant* was towed into the north-east arm of the harbour and brought out ; but the *Prudent*, having taken the ground, could not be moved, and was burnt down to the water's edge ; I saw her remains just as the fire left her when I was there in 1787.

The two commanders, Laforey and Balfour, were promoted to the rank of post-captain, and Lieutenants Affleck and Bickerton were made commanders. Affleck was an amiable, excellent man, and always went by the name of Uncle Phil.²

Louisbourg³ was formerly a very considerable town and a place strongly fortified, but when taken in 1758 Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst

¹ Sir Samuel Hood, vice-admiral, K.B. and baronet, died commander-in-chief in Indian waters, in 1814. As a rear-admiral, in 1808, he was in the Baltic with Byam Martin. See vol. ii. *freq.*

² A younger brother of the better-known Sir Edmund Affleck, who commanded the *Bedford* with Rodney, on the 12th April, 1782. He died, admiral of the white, in 1799.

³ It was strongly fortified by the French, as its position commanded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River and the adjacent coast.

blew up the whole of the works, and perhaps not a stone of the scattered fragments had been moved from the time of the destruction of the place until I saw it nearly thirty years afterwards. Five of the guns captured at Louisbourg now stand in front of Boscowen House (Lord Falmouth's) in St. James's Square.¹

Captain Balfour, who had been so distinguished as the leader of one of the divisions in the boarding of the line-of-battle ships, was a thorough practical seaman, had served faithfully and with unblemished character ; but, notwithstanding these high claims to professional protection and public gratitude, he was put aside in Lord Howe's unjust arrangement of the promotion alluded to. Balfour was not the only man whose latter days were embittered by this harsh and ungenerous slight of their services ; the act, however, met with decided reprobation in Parliament, though without procuring for those injured officers the redress which was their due. Mr. Pitt, as the head of the Government, felt obliged to support Lord Howe, but he saw what discredit the conduct of the admiralty had brought upon the administration, and his resentful feeling led to Lord Howe's removal from office.²

Lord Howe made a lame defence for himself in the House of Peers, where the question had been brought forward by Lord Rawdon (afterwards Lord Hastings). What Lord Howe stated I myself knew was not founded in fact, though I am quite certain he had a mind far above any wilful misrepresentation. But it was his lordship's duty, as first lord of the admiralty, to make himself intimately acquainted with the character and claims of every

¹ The guns are still there (1902).

² Possibly ; but there were ill-natured persons who said it was to make way for the Earl of Chatham.

officer before he trusted himself with so delicate and so difficult a task as that of deciding whether, at the end of thirty or forty years' service, an officer may be entitled to pass into the highest rank of the service, or whether, without explanation as to why or wherefore, his feelings are to be wounded by the prejudiced fiat of a man in power. The questions generally asked are these. Is it right when the slow progress of advancement brings an officer of good reputation within the scope of a flag promotion, that his hopes and prospects shall be dashed aside by denying him the distinction which has been the object of all his toils? Is it dealing fairly by such a man to place him on a separate, distinct, and inferior list of retired captains, and thus to mark him as an outcast from the service?¹

Lord Howe asserted in vindication of his arrangement that 'no officer had been promoted but those of sound mind and body; that men who were to be entrusted with the care of our fleets ought not only to be of firm minds, but of bodily strength to enable them to endure the fatigues of the hard services they might have to sustain.' His lordship added 'that officers who had served ably and meritoriously all their lives might not appear to the judgment of a first lord of the admiralty to be fit to be entrusted with the care of a fleet.'

All this is very true, but how stands the facts of the case under consideration. At the time when Lord Howe inflicted so great an injury upon Captains Balfour, Uvedale, Thompson, and others, it so happened that Sir John Lindsay, an amiable and excellent man of good family and large fortune, was in the habit of frequently coming with his

¹ Here, as elsewhere, Byam Martin appears as the unswerving supporter of the principle of promotion to flag rank by seniority, irrespective of any other consideration. Cf. vol. iii. p. 208.

family, Lady Lindsay, and her niece Miss Milner, to visit my father for a fortnight or more at a time ; and as a boy I full well remember that, if Sir John had occasion to be moved from one room to another or from one chair to another, two of his servants were always called to lift him in a sort of sling, so entirely was he a cripple ; and yet Sir John was one of those active-bodied men promoted by Lord Howe ! Balfour, on the contrary, was so active and strong that he might have gone to the mast-head then as readily as he had done thirty years before.

Lord Howe, as another objection to an indiscriminate flag promotion, added that, as all would rise to the higher grades of vice-admiral and admiral, those who did not serve would derive equal advantage with those who do serve, and would stand in their way. This on the face of it appears the most reasonable objection that can be urged, but I doubt if it is altogether the true one ; I think economy must have had some weight with those who framed the first excluding regulation in 1747, and that such consideration will have still greater weight now in the penny-wise and pound-foolish days in which we live.

It is, however, admitted that there is no duty belonging to the admiralty which subjects them to greater difficulty ; none so liable to misinterpretation, none so harassing to the feelings of the service, none, I verily believe, more irksome to those who have to perform so disagreeable a task as the arrangement of a promotion.¹

¹ True—as I can speak from experience of my own and of my colleagues at the admiralty—it is necessary for the future of the service to promote some young enough to obtain flag rank at an early age, and lastly to promote some of the senior officers who cannot rise higher, but have done excellent but unobtrusive work, and between those classes are a numerous body with very strong claims, and who may rise to flag rank.

Some people contend that, as the admiralty have the selection of officers for employment, there is no reason why all of good character should not pass on to the list of admirals. But the very fact of so filling the list may frequently prevent a beneficial exercise of the choice of officers for high command. For instance, suppose that in consequence of the crowded state of the flag list there should be a Nelson lingering at the bottom of it who, under other circumstances, would be far up. The admiralty naturally desire to select such a man to command the fleet, but he is found so low on the list that there are no junior admirals to serve under him, and thus the country may be defrauded of the services of a Nelson out of tenderness to inefficient men.¹

I wish I could suggest anything upon this difficult point that would be convenient to the service, and at the same time take away the sting occasioned to officers by exclusion from the efficient list of admirals. The present rule, which was established when the King was Lord High Admiral, requires a certain number of years' service in the command of a ship as the qualification for a flag. This perhaps would be fair if there were ships enough in commission in time of peace to give officers a chance of completing their time, and if

¹ In the case of the Walcheren expedition of 1809, the commander-in-chief was a rear-admiral, with four rear-admirals under him. This was a very large fleet, if not the largest ever fitted out, consisting of 245 men-of-war of all sizes and classes, including thirty-seven of the line. Government can always do as Lord St. Vincent did when he selected Nelson for the Nile fleet over his seniors. It would be impossible for an admiral to command a station efficiently if he had always to consider the seniority of his captains. I have known senior captains commanding frigates and juniors line-of-battle ships, but the frigate could not go into the line of battle. In point of fact this was the case at Trafalgar.

there was no favour or partiality in giving ships away. But when we see such men as Captain the Hon. Robert Spencer appointed by Lord Melville to four different frigates in succession, each for a period of service exceeding three years, viz. the Ganymede, Owen Glendower, Naiad, and Madagascar, thus giving to one captain twelve years' employment while six only are required to secure flag promotion. Other captains of humble parentage, but not inferior in professional claims, were all this time supplicating for only three years' service to complete their time. They received upon every occasion the same cold official answer, 'There are but few ships to give away and many candidates, but a note shall be made of your application that it may be considered with other claims at a proper season.' Alas! before that season arrives a promotion takes place, and all the importunity of the unfortunate candidate for employment ends in his being put on the retired list because he has not completed his time! Captain Hamilton was favoured with the command of the Cambrian five years, and indeed until he lost the ship, and was then appointed to the Druid, which ship he continued to command until he lost himself and was superseded as a confirmed drunkard.

After a long peace I think it due to the officers as well as to the public service to thin the list of captains by holding out a temptation to voluntary retirement. This may be done by a proclamation authorising the Admiralty to give retired allowances to such officers as have held post rank upwards of twenty-five years, giving them the rank of superannuated rear-admirals with an addition to their half-pay as captains varying from 4*s.* up to 5*s. 6d.* a day at the discretion of the admiralty. All the captains so invited to retire will be found on

the 14*s.* 6*d.* and 12*s.* 6*d.* rate of pay. If therefore the seniors who stand nearest to their proper retired flag which would give 25*s.* a day, get an addition of 5*s.* 6*d.* to their present half-pay it will give them 1*l.* a day at once instead of waiting to some distant uncertain period for the chance of promotion, and those whose promotion is more remote and uncertain will at once get 17*s.* a day. This would be acceptable and gratifying to many old officers, and it would be useful to the service by bringing younger men forward as flag-officers. The proclamation so issued must not extend beyond six weeks or there will be a holding back.

While in Spanish River, in the Island of Cape Breton, I visited the coal mines,¹ which have more recently become so valuable; and have been made the subject of an important suit in Chancery in order to decide whether a grant of the royal dues to the Duke of York had been parted with by his Royal Highness, or whether his creditors are entitled to the benefit. I believe it has been decided in favour of the creditors.

The little excursion to Port Roseway, Spanish River, and Louisbourg did not exceed three weeks, and on our appointed return to Halifax we found Commodore Sawyer with a small squadron ready to proceed to Quebec. The ships were the Leander bearing the broad pennant, commanded by an old Scotch baronet, Sir James Barclay; the Thisbe, Captain Isaac Coffin; Resource, Captain Paul Minchin; the Pegasus, Captain his Royal Highness Prince William, and the Weasel, brig of eight guns, Captain Samuel Hood; this vessel was so low between the decks that Hood, who was a tall man, was forced to put his head through the

¹ In Sydney harbour, Cape Breton Island, and which are now very important in event of war.

skylight that the barber on deck above might the more conveniently dress his hair, which in those days when powder was worn and the head much dressed was no small operation. Such was the story, but Hood, who was no dandy, was the last man I should suspect of going out of his way, or sending his head out of the way, from a desire to look smart.

Coffin, who was a remarkably active man, had a good opportunity of showing himself to advantage when working up the river St. Lawrence. Having stood too far in shore opposite the Island of Orleans the ship took the ground, and as it was very nearly at the top of the tide she would undoubtedly have fallen over, and probably bilged, had she not been shored¹ up with wonderful expedition, which was attributed entirely to Coffin's activity. There are some curious stories in the service of Sir Isaac, and particularly his freaks when commissioner of the navy at Lisbon, while Lord St. Vincent was commander-in-chief; but as they do not redound much to his credit the less said of them the better. The story about the missing Portuguese, who had been sent by the American consul with intelligence to the enemy, will probably find a place in the gallant admiral's biography when the time shall arrive to give to the world a sketch of his professional life.²

¹ Shoring up a ship was necessary in the days of sailing vessels, who were built as one, of whom an eminent shipwright at Malta observed, 'the Westral is a very fine vessel, but her bottom is [shaped] like a we,' and hence would fall over as the tide fell; to prevent which spars were got out, one end sunk to the ground and the other secured to the ship. This is not necessary in modern ships, whose midship section is U-, not V-shaped.

² The stories referred to seem to be now lost; but whether they were more than galley yarns may be doubted, for Coffin's service at Lisbon was approved by St. Vincent and the admiralty. Cf. Tucker's *Memoirs of Earl St. Vincent*, vol. i. pp. 302, 401.

Paul Minchin, the captain of the *Resource*, was a dull clodpole—a lumbering, heavy man, and so far the reverse of Coffin. I believe he was a man of good family, but without one qualification, natural or acquired, to fit him for the society of gentlemen, or to qualify him for the rank he held. I remember laughing immoderately at a circumstance that brought him before us in a ludicrous light, but the story fitted the man to life. He had a large black bear, and, like two of a kind, they were playing together one day when the bear seemed to have the best of the fun and gave Paul a most awful bite. On receiving the wound Minchin hobbled away to his lodging, and, as good luck would have it, met the surgeon of his ship, whereupon Minchin exclaimed: 'Doctor, doctor, I have had a severe bite from the bear!' 'Ah! sir,' replied the surgeon (an impudent fellow), 'what, "dog bite dog!"' This insolent familiarity showed the sort of discipline which prevailed on board the *Resource*, and showed also the opinion entertained of the captain by the officers of the ship.

Sir James Barclay was also quite out of his element in the command of a man-of-war; he was an inoffensive man, but that is a poor recommendation to one who has to manage some hundreds of lawless spirits, and who is placed in a situation where he may be called upon to uphold the honour of the British flag. Never, perhaps, did the service possess three men less calculated to give the young Prince a right bias upon professional matters, or to impress him with respect for the service than Coffin, Minchin, and Barclay in their different ways.

The pilot who came on board to navigate the ship up the St. Lawrence was the same who piloted Sir Charles Saunders's ship when he went with the

fleet to co-operate with Wolfe in 1758,¹ twenty-nine years before ; he was, in 1787, still an active old man.

It gave great interest to our visit to the Canadian metropolis to find that the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, had, as Colonel Carlton, served under Wolfe as quartermaster-general. This interest was greatly heightened by a notification of the general's intention to have a sham fight, in order to exhibit to the Prince the movements of both armies immediately preceding and at the battle on the plains of Abraham on the ever-memorable 13th of September, 1758.¹ This the general was enabled to do on a very considerable scale, as two regiments had arrived as reliefs from England, and these added to the assemblage of almost all the troops in Lower Canada made a strong muster. The weather was beautiful, and the whole scene delighted the Prince and the thousands of spectators who had assembled from all quarters of the province, including an immense number of Indians, many of them in their war dress and armed with their butchering weapons of war.

The history of the campaign was much in request in the cockpit prior to this display, and it was so fully discussed that we went to the field of battle half persuaded that we were fit for generals. At any rate it prepared us to comprehend the more readily the practical illustration which was to be given to us by Wolfe's own quartermaster-general ; and we were greatly excited by all the circumstances attending the fall of the intrepid and glorious Wolfe, then only in the 32nd year of his age ; and the fall, also, of his accomplished antagonist the Marquis de Montcalm, both of them beloved by their country and idolised by their soldiers.

¹ In error for 1759.

In return for this brilliant and gratifying review, the navy were about to amuse the natives by exhibiting an unfortunate veteran midshipman at the fore yard-arm of the *Resource*. This was prevented by Commodore Sawyer, who, more just and merciful than those who had condemned the man to death, reprieved him, but not until he had gone through the awful ceremony of placing the rope round his neck, which had such an effect as well nigh to cause the poor man's death. Bullen, the midshipman¹ alluded to, had been many years at sea, and was considered a quiet, inoffensive person, but in a riotous scene in the cockpit of the *Resource* he was accused of striking the first lieutenant, Mr. Ratsey. The charge was considered false and not proved by those who attended the court-martial; indeed, it was almost impossible to know who struck the lieutenant as there was no light, or if he was struck at all otherwise than accidentally in the general scuffle.²

¹ Bullen was, in fact, a master's mate, but any officer under the rank of a lieutenant was spoken of as midshipman, and styled 'young gentleman.' I remember in my first ship a gray-headed lieutenant, who was 33 years old while still in a midshipman's berth. In his last ship, the captain, who was showing a party of visitors round, opened a door of the berth, rudely observing, 'Here is where the young gentlemen live; ' my friend Joliffe poked his head out of the other door and said, 'No, this is where the gray-headed old mates exist.'

² Bullen was acquitted of striking Ratsey, but found guilty of 'taking him by the collar in a riotous and mutinous manner.' He had been holding a merry-making in his berth, singing and—presumably—drinking, when Ratsey interfered. 'I heard,' said a witness, Lieutenant Wickham, 'Mr. Ratsey call the prisoner by name, saying, "Sir, you're a damned rascal and a damned scoundrel!" . . . Soon after I heard the prisoner say, "You've called me a rascal, Sir, and you've struck me, Sir." Upon this I heard a violent scuffling. . . . I jumped out of bed and ran where the scuffling was. I saw Mr. Ratsey and the prisoner closed together, hold of each other's collars, and Mr. Hammond, lieutenant of marines, with a light in one hand, and the other striving to separate the prisoner and Mr. Ratsey.'—*Minutes of the Court-martial*,

If Paul Minchin had gone through the disgraceful scene to which the poor mid. was obliged to submit, it would have been a just punishment for the disgraceful order of his ship.

Having remained several weeks at Quebec, the squadron sailed for Halifax, and experienced some bad weather in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where the Leander was nearly lost through the extraordinary obstinacy of the master, Mr. Jackson.¹

I have before said that this ship was commanded by an officer no more qualified for the situation than an old woman ; just one of those men to be led by the nose by any active, assuming, presuming, clever man—such an one as Mr. Jackson. Sir James Barclay was also a very timid and nervous man, as well as a very ignorant one ; and from habitual alarm imagined dangers which did not exist, and could not con the chart and shape his course to avoid those which stared him in the face. This combination of ignorance and alarm kept the old man in a perpetual fidget about the ship's course, so that it became a constant habit with him to look every five minutes at the compass, never failing to call out to the master if he happened to be on deck, ' How does she go now, Jackson ? ' until at length this often-repeated interrogatory became the common saying of the squadron, as it is now throughout the service. On the occasion alluded to, the squadron was closing in upon the land off St. Anne's Head or, as it is called in some charts, Cape Despair, and it was blowing so strong that the ships were under close-reefed main

21-23 May, 1788. Captain Minchin ought, in ordinary course, to have been the prosecutor, but he was wanted to sit on the court-martial, so Ratsey prosecuted and was not examined.—Cf. vol. iii. pp. 293-4.

¹ Christian name John, by all the pay books ; he signed J. only ; but James (*Naval History*, ii. 71) calls him Bartholomew.

topsail and foresail; the wind on the beam blowing along shore. The pilot, who, like the captain, was often bullied by Jackson, intimated that the ship was getting too near the shore and approaching a bed of rocks, which, though not laid down in the chart, he knew to exist; he was, however, harshly pushed aside by Jackson (to whom the pilot had addressed himself) and called an ignorant block-head. The ship was running fast, and the pilot's fears so greatly increased that he presently went to Sir James Barclay, and entreated him with tears to haul off; but Jackson, who was within hearing, having long before lost all sense of respect for his captain, shook his fist in the pilot's face, declaring he would knock him down if he dared to utter another word. These harsh expressions were scarcely uttered by the obstinate master when the ship, uplifted by the rising sea, struck upon the rocks with such tremendous violence that it was wonderful how the masts stood the shock. It was at this moment that a witty marine standing on the poop cried out, 'How does she go now, Jackson?' and hence the common saying in the navy when obstinacy leads to any disaster.

The next rising wave lifted the ship completely over the reef into deep water, at which time the *Pegasus*, commanded by the present king, was so close to the *Leander* that, when she wore round, the rocks were seen under her bottom. When the *Leander* had thus cleared the rocks, all sail was immediately set to try and push the ship to the anchorage in Challeur Bay¹ before dark. Happily

¹ In the Gulf of St. Lawrence. October 17, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 A.M. Cape Ann or Cape or Cape d'Espoir, N.N.E. 3 miles, struck several heavy strokes on the ground. . . . 18 (sc. 17, civil time), 7 P.M., came to anchor in 11 fathoms in the bay of Pichidiackicue (Paspebiac). . . . Thrumming a new spritsail course.—*Log of Leander*.

this was effected just at sunset, when the water was gaining so much upon the pumps as to make it impossible to keep the ship from sinking for any length of time ; but by great exertions in bailing and the assistance of two hand-pumps down the main hatchway she was kept above water. During the night a sail was foddered¹ and placed under the bottom, and the shaggy oakum being drawn by suction into the wounded parts tended materially to keep the water out.

The wind had moderated, the moon shone bright, and the water was smooth, so that everything proved favourable for the great efforts which were made for the safety of the ship. Immediately we anchored the Prince went on board the Leander to beg the commodore would hoist his broad pennant on board the Pegasus, and I will venture to say that no flag-officer ever experienced more respectful attention, more prompt obedience than was shown by the Prince to the commodore ; and his kind attention to the ladies of the commodore's family was marked by a propriety and affability of conduct that set them quite at their ease.

The commodore had taken his wife, two fine young women his grown-up daughters, and a Miss Taylor, the belle of Halifax, to partake of the festivities at Quebec ; and the scene amongst them when the ship struck, which was about 7 o'clock in the morning, was related with much humour by some of the eye-witnesses, and very happily hit off by the pencil of a midshipman.

Two of the young ladies were thrown completely

¹ I have done this when the ship, after being on shore, was leaking so much that the pumps could not keep her free from water. After a foddered sail was put over the leak, one pump for half an hour a watch kept her free.

out of their beds, and, in the terror of the moment, forgetting the simplicity and lightness of their night-dress, rushed upon the quarter-deck, thinking, if they thought at all, it might be the only chance of saving their lives, and they were certainly better prepared for a swim than any of those around them. Next appeared the old lady, a strange, half-dressed, withered figure, the reverse of the other elegant and more visible samples of the female form ; and she, too, so terrified as to be unconscious of the exhibition the younger ladies were making. But the commodore lost no time in casting boat cloaks over them, and presently so soothed their apprehensions as to get them to return to the cabin. While this was going on up came old Major Fowke, of the marines, with a red nightcap on his head, and nothing but a shirt to cover his body, and snatching up a hatchet, thought to render good service by attempting to cut away the main-mast. This was certainly a very business-like way of going to work, but the operation not being necessary, the major, like the ladies, was recommended to go to his cabin. The scene altogether was terrific, but ludicrous in the highest degree.

Having been at work the whole night that the ships were in Chaleur Bay, they were ready to get under way soon after daylight to proceed to Halifax. The Leander steered very wild owing to the damaged state of her rudder and the effect of the foddered sail, so that on approaching Halifax harbour there was much alarm about getting her in ; this, however, was effected, and no time lost in preparing the ship to be hove down. The damage done to the bottom of the ship was found so great as to astonish everyone that she had not gone to the bottom the moment the sea hove her over the ridge of rocks into deep water ; and the keeping

her afloat so long afterwards was highly creditable to the officers and men.

Had the circumstances connected with this disaster been brought before a court-martial, Sir James Barclay would have cut a very discreditable figure, and the master could not have escaped the punishment due to so culpable a disregard of the warning and advice of the pilot. It was a shameful thing that they were permitted to escape with impunity. Mr. Jackson was an acknowledged good seaman, but he was presumptuous, conceited, violent and overbearing ; he was a valuable man when under the command of a captain who would keep his bad propensities in check, and the narrow squeak he had on this occasion served as a warning, and made him a useful public servant in after life under the patronage and favour of Lord St. Vincent, with whom he served as master of the fleet.

I have mentioned before that Jackson in his violence had a disagreeable trick of shaking his fist in the face of anyone he wished to intimidate, and in the end he got well punished for it, having been 'served,' as the saying is, 'with his own sauce.' This happened in a ridiculous manner, much to the amusement of those who were present, and to the general satisfaction of his shipmates, who thought chastisement from some quarter or the other might mend his manners and make him a more bearable companion. Jackson was at this time the master of the *Lion*, in which ship Lord Macartney was proceeding on a wild-goose chase to the Emperor of China.¹

The scene of the transaction alluded to was on the coast of Cochin China, where Jackson was on shore making astronomical observations and surveying the coast. The Chinese, jealous of such a pro-

¹ The first embassy sent to China from Great Britain, 1792.

ceeding, remonstrated, and threatened interruption, whereupon Jackson's temper, always quick to rise upon the slightest provocation, was up in a moment at boiling heat. He thought at first to put the smooth-faced jugglers to flight by an angry tone and threatening gestures, particularly by putting on the boxing attitude, which his sturdy figure enabled him to assume in a manner well calculated to produce intimidation; but it proved otherwise. One of the Chinese, with the aptness of imitation for which they are so remarkable, threw himself into the same pugnacious posture, and fronting Jackson with provoking mimicry seemed determined to come to the scratch. This was not to be endured, but the more Jackson fumed, the more the Chinese laughed, and the former advancing with cautious step and slow, determined to let fly such a blow in the fellow's face as would make him laugh on the other side of his mouth. The Chinese maintained his ground and attitude of defiance with undaunted firmness, to the great astonishment of the English spectators who, knowing Jackson's muscular powers, expected to see the poor devil demolished the first blow. The attendants on both sides abstained from interference with their belligerent chiefs, waiting anxiously the result of Jackson's measured advance, and the English boat's crew, knowing his powers, said 'That there Chinese does not know what is coming, or he would not stand there making faces.' It turned out, however, that Jackson knew but little of what was coming from the other quarter, for the moment he was fairly within reach of the swing of the foot of his antagonist, the Chinese, still preserving his pugnacious attitude, threw out his foot with peculiar, and no doubt often tried dexterity, and with such immense power of leverage from the hip that, taking Jackson under the chin, the tremendous

blow lifted him from the ground and cast him to a great distance, with such a clatter of the jaw, such a smash of teeth and cut of the tongue, as to outdo anything recorded of pugilistic damage.

Jackson, half dead with the blow, presently rose up, almost in doubt if his head was still upon his shoulders, and turning towards the scene of combat, saw with infinite dismay and mortification the Chinese not only in possession of the field of battle, but precisely in the same boxing posture and with the same broad grin upon his face as at first. Jackson, who never bargained for the fellow letting fly his lower deckers at him, had no mind to renew the battle with one so completely armed at all points. The damage he had sustained was too serious to warrant the old joke 'How does she go now, Jackson?' The effect of the blow was felt for a long time, and the laugh about it continued to the end of the voyage.

Soon after the return of the squadron to Halifax intelligence arrived (November 1787) of a naval armament in England on account of some misunderstanding with Holland about the navigation of the Scheldt. Orders came at the same time for the return of the Pegasus to England, taking care to keep well to the northward as she approached soundings, so as to be out of the usual track of the Channel, in order to avoid the risk of falling in with the cruisers of the enemy should war have taken place, and the ship was to go to Cork to wait further orders. We had a very tempestuous voyage, and what we thought worse, all was peace when we arrived. Mr. Pitt had carried his point by the decisive steps he had taken, and the rapidity with which the fleet had been equipped by means of the instant impressment of a large body of seamen.

When our royal captain landed at Cork the Duke of Wellington, who had then recently entered the army and was a subaltern in the 76th Regiment, was the officer who turned out the guard to his Royal Highness. Little did we think at the time that the captain of the 28-gun frigate would one day be the king, and the subaltern who turned out the guard, his minister ; but I have often heard the King predict that he should be the sovereign of the country.

The Prince went to Dublin on a visit to the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Rutland, a nobleman distinguished more by his immoderate love of drinking than by any of the graces which adorned the life and character of his respected brother, Lord Robert Manners. Lord Robert commanded the *Resolution*, of 74 guns, in the battle of the 12th April, 1782, and was mortally wounded, so that he died on board the *Andromache*, after suffering amputation, on his way to England.

Lord Robert was in the 25th year of his age, an officer of high and exemplary character, devoted to his profession, and so skilful and intelligent in the discharge of his duty that his death was regarded as a great public loss, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The strict, steady, temperate discipline adopted by this estimable young nobleman made the *Resolution* a very effective ship. Lord Robert punished by flogging when it was really necessary, but, always averse to the disagreeable alternative, he took another method to obtain the same end. His friend, Captain Molloy, of the *Intrepid*—he who commanded the *Cæsar* in the battle of the 1st of June —was remarkable for an extreme severity of discipline, to the great terror of all who served under his command. Lord Robert, aware of this, told

Molloy one day that he had on board the Resolution an active good seaman, but unfortunately of so lawless a disposition as to make the frequent punishment of him quite disgusting, and asked Molloy if he would undertake to tame him. This was readily agreed to, and a readiness expressed to receive any others Lord Robert might wish to send. The man was accordingly discharged into the Intrepid, and such was the horror of serving in that ship, that Lord Robert made the Resolution the smartest of all the fleet by the mere threat to send any offenders to the Intrepid.

The amiable qualities recorded of Lord Robert,¹ his highly cultivated and accomplished mind and gentleness of disposition, always bring to my mind Pope's² beautiful lines on the death of another naval hero, Captain Grenville, who, like Lord Robert, fell at an early age when captain of the Defiance, in Lord Anson's battle with M. de la Jonquière in 1747 :

Such spotless honour, such ingenuous truth,
Such ripened wisdom in the bloom of youth,
So mild, so gentle, so composed a mind,
To such heroic warmth and courage joined, &c.

While the Pegasus was in Cork harbour the main-mast was struck with lightning, and some of the hoops knocked off ; the electric matter seemed to expend itself in the well, making a noise louder than a pistol, but no damage was done except to the mast : probably the electric fluid passed off through some of the copper fastenings in the ship's bottom, on the principle since so forcibly pointed out by Mr. John Snow Harris, of Plymouth.

¹ For Lord Robert Manners's graphic letters to the Duke of Rutland on Hood's brilliantfeat at St. Kitt's in Jan. 1782, see *Letters of Sir Samuel Hood* (N. R. S. vol. iii.), pp. 78 seq.

² Pope died in 1744 ; I am indebted to Professor Saintsbury for the information that the lines are by Lord Lyttelton.

It is extraordinary that the Admiralty still resist the introduction of Mr. Harris's fixed lightning conductors, although its efficacy has been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Royal Society, and particularly approved by Sir Humphry Davy, Dr. Wollaston, and Mr. Faraday. I have a letter which Dr. Wollaston wrote to me speaking with decided approbation of the plan ; and Mr. Faraday told me he was prepared, if called upon by the Admiralty, to state his unqualified assent to Mr. Harris's plan. The celebrated Professor Whewell, of Cambridge, has added his testimony in favour of it, and yet it is rejected, as I verily believe, because Sir John Barrow,¹ the most obstinate man living, has presumed to set his face against it. This comes of permitting subordinates in office to acquire a sort of sway and habit of dictation which belongs not to their station. Mr. Barrow has, in his time, greatly and mischievously misled the First Lords of the Admiralty ; no public servant has done more harm for so little good.²

The day before Christmas-day 1787, about seven o'clock in the morning, we sailed from Cork harbour for Plymouth. The weather at this time was so fine and the wind so light that it was as much as we could do to get outside the headlands. A breeze then sprang up from the east, and freshened so rapidly that by noon the ship was under a close-reefed main topsail and foresail, with the topgallant masts struck and everything made snug for a gale. At half after one o'clock the storm mizen staysail was the only sail the ship could bear, so great was the fury of the wind. Such a tempest was not within the memory of man. It lasted three days, and occasioned infinite damage on shore as well as

¹ Then secretary to the Admiralty.

² Harris's lightning conductors were adopted about 1840.

at sea. The Orion, of 74 guns, Captain Sir Hyde Parker, coming from Portsmouth to Plymouth to be paid off, was blown past her port, and driven many leagues to the westward of Scilly ; and was for some time in a most perilous situation, owing to her pumps¹ being imperfect, and unable to discharge the water the ship made from being in a very leaky state. Many vessels perished in this gale.

Up to this period I had never been able to conquer sea-sickness. It was so continued and excessive that I had often been urged to quit the naval service, but I was determined to triumph over the inglorious enemy, or perish, rather than listen to such advice. In this tremendous gale I was delighted to discover all at once that sea-sickness had taken its leave, and in its place came such an appetite that the members of the mess wished the gale over lest my insatiable appetite should make a clean sweep of their whole stock of provisions.

The 13th of March, 1788, the Pegasus was paid off and all hands turned over to the Andromeda, of 32 guns and about 750 tons, a nice sort of frigate in those days but quite out of fashion now. The sloops of war of the present day are some of them of larger tonnage. The Prince was a good deal mortified that the Admiralty would not give him the Melampus, of 36 guns, then one of the largest and finest frigates in the service. This ship was sold to the Dutch Government in 1815, and bore the flag of the Dutch admiral at the battle of Algiers.²

Soon after reaching Plymouth the Prince of Wales and Duke of York came down to visit their

¹ And yet she had just left Portsmouth.

² A Dutch squadron of frigates under Vice-Admiral Capellan shared with our fleet the honour of rescuing so many Christian prisoners from the Algerines.

brother, and for a time set the whole neighbourhood in commotion and gaiety. I do not recollect where these illustrious visitors took up their quarters, but certainly it was not at our captain's lodging, for a more miserable dog-hole was never inhabited by man. Dock, as the present town of Devonport was then called, was wretchedly off for lodging accommodation, and that which I have alluded to was not 'the best of the bad.' The house was the last on the right hand side of the street immediately on the left as you come out of the dockyard ; the house nearly fronted the gun wharf gates. It is worth going to see in order to show what was once deemed good enough for the residence of the present occupant of Windsor Castle. I pointed the house out to the King on his last visit to Plymouth as Lord High Admiral, and he looked at it with great earnestness. The stay of the royal visitors did not exceed two days.

In this year the naval uniform was altered and certainly much improved as far as it went. The rose button of the lieutenants, that symbol of royal feuds, was abolished and anchor buttons adopted. The midshipmen were gratified by having an anchor instead of an unmeaning sugar-loaf button ; this change, however, did not prevent great whimsicality and absurdity in some parts of our dress according to the taste of some of the captains.

It is only very lately that anything like uniformity of dress has been established, and that, too, just at the time when the coat is made so fantastical that we are almost ashamed to wear it. It is greatly to be regretted that our last and present kings, George IV. and William IV., have been so addicted to tailoring propensities ; it may be very amusing, and serve to fill up the unoccupied hours

of the sovereign, but it is exceedingly inconvenient to the pockets and disagreeable to the feelings of nine-tenths of the officers in both services.¹

The coat we had before this late ridiculous change without exception was known and respected throughout the world ; particularly the undress, which was neat and unpretending, and therefore appropriate to the profession. It was the uniform which Nelson wore when he was killed, and we were proud to think that what he wore we wore too. When the alteration took place (1827) I was too sulky to keep my opinion to myself, and told the Lord High Admiral I thought it would be distasteful to the whole service. He assured me he had nothing to do with the change ! I said he had the credit of being the author of it.

A naval uniform was first established by an order in Council dated in 1744,² before which time everyone wore pretty nearly what he pleased ; it was only some few of the captains that took particular pride in the appearance of their officers who adopted a dress in their particular ships according to their own fancy, and the prevailing taste of the day was a pepper-and-salt coloured coat, with red cuffs and collars. The blue and white, which was introduced by the King's authority, was taken from the riding habit of the Duchess of Bedford,³ who was a graceful equestrian and took the lead in the fashionable world. I believe a cockade was first worn in the navy by Lord Keppel when a young man, and was thought very coxcombical ; it was

¹ I was at the Admiralty when changes were made in the uniform, and from experience then gained would advise my successors to leave sleeping lions alone ; a more difficult and unpleasant duty I never had, from the multiplicity of opinions.

² Error for 1748.

³ This has been very commonly said, but is at least doubtful.

many years afterwards before it was described officially as part of the naval dress.

The captains in the navy have been very difficult to deal with in matters relating to dress ; and when things are made intolerably inconvenient I confess I have no disposition to be very rigid about it, particularly as there is no thought about what is suitable to one climate or another. Why should an admiral be burthened with a heavy gold-laced hat, as the only one he can wear in a tropical climate ? it is enough to bring on a brain fever.¹ I am, however, decidedly against a capricious, senseless deviation from the uniform, such as some captains ventured upon in spite of all rules and orders ; take, for instance, our royal captain in 1788.

It was his Royal Highness's pleasure undoubtedly that there should be a uniformity, but the dress was of his own imagination, and quite at variance from that which the service prescribed. Old and young, tall and short, all were to be alike ; the boy of twelve years old was to be rigged out as a man, and so squeezed into a tight dress as to leave no chance of growing unless, perchance, nature's efforts should prove more than a match for the tailor's stitches. Only conceive a midshipman with white breeches so tight as to appear to be sewn upon the limb—yellow-topped hunting boots pulled close up and strapped with a buckle round the knee. To this let the imagination of the reader extend to a pigtail of huge dimensions dangling beneath an immense square gold-laced cocked hat ; the tail was thickened by introducing between the hair a leather

¹ It was said two commanders-in-chief succumbed to cocked hats and buttoned-up coats in the broiling 'forties' (1840-50) in China ; but our uniform in my time (1843-94) was never so absurd as B. Martin describes.

thing of the shape of a large carrot, and this ribboned over had a most formidable appearance ; but to complete the head-dress the side hair was allowed to grow to a great length and, being frizzed down and well stuffed with powder and pomatum, terminated with a large curl, leaving just room for it to work clear of the shoulder. Add to all this a sword about two-thirds the length of the little body that wore it, and I think I bring to recollection myself in all the pride and pomp of a man thirteen years old and about four feet ten inches high. Such was the dress conceived and adopted by our royal captain.¹

This new arrangement of dress had scarcely been completed when the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch and two red-headed daughters arrived, and a day was appointed for them to visit the *Andromeda*—ay and to visit the midshipmen, too, for we made a very ornamental part of the display on such occasions.

When the yards were manned as a compliment to the Duke, my station was at the main top mast-head on the cap ; and in such a dress, and with such a tail, it was no easy matter to get there. The most ridiculous part of the ascent was in going up the futtock shrouds, when the tail hung away perpendicularly from the head, and might be taken for the end of the shifting backstay hanging out of the top. Difficult and painful as the operation was, it was really laughable to find oneself engaged in such an adventure, and I am sure it could never have been accomplished but for the fortunate bursting of the breeches in divers places, whereby the limbs gained a greater freedom of action. But, as a set off the other way, I found that the rents in the lower garment admitted more of the sharp

¹ See Appendix A.

north-west wind than was agreeable during the two hours I spent aloft.

When I returned to the quarter-deck after the visitors were gone I was in no hurry to get below, although half ashamed to be seen. I thought such a proof of our inappropriate dress might lead to a change. Not so, however ; I was desired to tell the tailor to get better materials, and sew them stronger. The only change of dress which took place during the year was the introduction of black-topped boots.

We were not urged to much exertion in fitting out the *Andromeda* although from the first she was full and well manned. She was commissioned the 13th of March, 1788, but it was the 16th of May before she went into the Sound. The Admiral, the first Sir Richard Bickerton, was too much of a courtier to question the Prince about the progress of the ship, and his Royal Highness had become enamoured of a certain Miss Wynne,¹ the daughter of an old broker of some consideration in the borough. The residence of this family was in a part of the town called Foxhole Quay, and next door to the Prince George Inn ; which said Foxhole the Prince discovered to be a perfect paradise, and there he wasted his time in the dalliance of love. The old broker, in the foolishness and vanity of his heart, encouraged this attachment, but fortunately the young lady was made of better stuff than the father.² To the honour of Miss Wynne be it said, neither the malevolence of envy nor the breath of slander could taint her reputation ; amidst the

¹ Afterwards married to Colonel Gore, of the 33rd Regiment.

² Miss Wynne's father would seem to have held a better social position than is here implied. Whitfield (*Plymouth and Devonport*, p. 196) speaks of him as 'a merchant,' and of the daughter as one of the reigning beauties of the town.

allurements by which she was surrounded, and pushed forward by the unprincipled brokering views of the father, not the slightest insinuation could with any truth be uttered to her disadvantage ; on the contrary, everyone whose opinion was worth having admired the propriety of her conduct under circumstances so calculated to disarrange a mind less fortified by good principles.

The visit of the prince to Foxhole Quay was daily, and generally of long continuance, very much to the annoyance of myself and other luckless mids., who had to be in attendance in the barge at the Barbican, the landing place the nearest to the house. This waiting was dreadfully tedious, for notwithstanding the customary punctuality of the Prince, it was sometimes hours after the appointed time before he could tear himself away from this beautiful young woman. Happily for us, on the 8th of June, Rear-Admiral the Hon. John Leveson Gower appeared off the Sound with the signal flying for the Andromeda to weigh anchor and join the admiral. The ships composing this squadron consisted of the Edgar, bearing the flag and commanded by Captain Charles Thompson, or by the late Lord Duncan, I forget which;¹ the Magnificent, Captain Richard Onslow ;² Colossus, Captain Hugh C. Christian ; Culloden, Sir Thomas Rich, Bart. ; Scipio, Captain Lutwidge, and Crown, Captain C. M. Pole, with several frigates and smaller vessels. The object was an evolutionary cruise, chiefly for the instruction of our royal captain, but it was instructive and interesting to us all.

On the 21st of July, when off the Lizard, a ship joined with despatches for the admiral, bringing

¹ It was Thompson : Duncan got his flag the year before.

² Afterwards Sir R. Onslow, vice-admiral and second in command at Camperdown in 1797.

orders to complete the *Andromeda* with provisions and water from the squadron, and to send her to North America without allowing her to anchor in any English port.

It seems that during our absence his Majesty George III got scent of the Foxhole Quay affair, which had been going on in the old broker's house. 'Aye, what—what—what,' said the old king in his rapid way of speaking, 'what, William playing the fool again; send him off to America and forbid the return of the ship to Plymouth.' No sooner said than done; out came the royal mandate in the shape of an admiralty order, and a bitter pill it was. It came like a clap of thunder, and was rendered the more astonishing as it reached us just at the moment when the Prince was in an ecstacy of delight; his dreams having transported him to all the joys of renewed operations at Foxhole Quay, and every preparation was made in the valet's department for landing that evening at Plymouth. One can, therefore, well make allowance for the tears which attested the keenness of our captain's disappointment.

The *Andromeda* was exactly one month from the Lizard to Halifax, and though without any chronometer, the land was made with an exactness of reckoning which would have done credit to any time-piece of modern make, perfect and admirable as they are. I do not think we were a cable's length out in our distance, although we had several days of foggy weather.

Looking back to the time, and that not very distant, when navigators were without the help and comfort of chronometers, it is wonderful to think with what accuracy ships were conducted to all quarters of the globe. The *Salisbury* in the year 1786 was the first ship that I recollect to have been

supplied with a chronometer, and it is only since the peace (1815) that they have been allowed to ships at the public expense. When I commanded the Tamar going to the West Indies with a convoy in 1797, having under my orders the Tartar, commanded by the present Vice-Admiral Fleeming, I went to a very inconvenient expense to purchase a chronometer of Mr. Bayly, the Master of the Academy, who had been round the world with Cook. He assured me the watch was the best he had ever seen, and, confiding in the opinion of one of so high authority, I was determined its credit should not suffer in my hands, and took as much care of it as if it had been my child ; yet, with all this, and the weather very favourable for observations, I had the mortification to find that the longitude by the chronometer was full seventy miles out, while the common reckoning of the ship made Scotland Hill at Barbados to the greatest nicety.¹

On our arrival at Halifax (August 1788) we found the small squadron on the station under the command of Captain Charles Sandys,² one of those

¹ Up to 1860 only one chronometer was allowed, unless a captain bought another, when the Admiralty supplied a third. When I commissioned my first command in 1858, which meant an outlay of 300*l.* to 400*l.*, I wrote for the chronometers and was asked if I had one ; if not, only one was supplied. I replied if the Admiralty considered one was sufficient for navigation, it was their business. I had no intention of buying one, my purse being very empty. The folly of the rule was brought home to the Admiralty in the following year (1859), when the Cossack, on her passage to North America, had a very narrow escape from being lost, as a consequence of the chronometer's mainspring breaking and the ship having to be navigated by dead reckoning. It would seem that even the Treasury could no longer contest the necessity, for after that three were supplied.

² Two years earlier than this, Nelson wrote of him : 'Between Bacchus and Venus he is scarcely ever thoroughly in his senses. I am very sorry for him, for his heart is good, but he is not fit to command a man-of-war : his ship is the merest privateer you ever

vulgar, drunken dolts who bring discredit on the naval service, and one who never did an act in his life to merit the rank he held. We were told that when the Prince went on board the Dido to wait upon this worthless man, as the senior officer, he found the sot in his bed drunk. It was truly disgusting to witness the scenes which took place during the time we remained in such bad company.

On one occasion, the 23rd of September I believe it was, being the anniversary of the King's coronation, a great dinner was given on board the Andromeda, and a ball in the evening. This was a proper and dutiful commemoration of the day, and if left to the management of Lieutenant Church and others who had been deputed to arrange matters, I have no doubt it would have been conducted with due decorum; but as 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' so the presence of this worthless commodore and his libertine captains led to an excess of drinking, and all its train of vulgarity and levity.

The wind, which during the day had been fresh and blustering, increased to a perfect gale, so that all communication with the shore was for a time cut off. This lengthened the entertainment to a degree to satiate even the youngest of the party, and it was not until after daybreak that the wind abated sufficiently to give a hope that we should not have a second day of it. About eight in the morning the evening party ended with a good substantial breakfast, and by the time that was over the weather was so improved that the ladies could be sent on shore without risk of damage to their fine dresses.

saw. Such men hurt the service more than it is in the power of ten good ones to bring back.'—Nicholas, *Nelson's Dispatches*, vol. i. p. 156. He continued, however, to grace the service, till in 1805 he was superannuated as a rear-admiral. He died in 1814.

The commodore, the exemplary commodore, was, at an early period of the evening, in a state to be quite insensible to the increasing violence of the wind ; he was as still as death ; he knew not but that a general calm prevailed ; to him all was quietness. He, with all his sins, could not be reproached with hearing the minute guns of a ship in distress about five miles below at the entrance of the harbour. Those who had the merit of being sober were those to whom great blame is imputable for not giving an active assistance, when the deep-toned appeal of those guns called for compassion and help. As if to mock their distress we were firing frequent salutes to compliment any favourite toast. Fresh as the wind was at the time, boats could get down to Major's Beach at the entrance of the harbour, and old Read, the master attendant, never failing in his duty, sent from the dockyard all the assistance he could, and perhaps the best excuse for others was a reliance upon his watchful zeal. I see by the log-book that 168¹ guns were fired on board the *Andromeda* as salutes, by order of the commodore !

Since we were at Halifax in the preceding year, Captain Coffin (Sir Isaac) had been tried by a court-martial and dismissed from the command of the *Thisbe*. He was charged by his officers, particularly by Lieutenant Twysden and the master,² with

¹ A late survival, or rather revival, of a very old custom, which had been recognised as an abuse and forbidden as early as 1557 (Oppenheim, *Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 111). The order, though often repeated, was continually disregarded (*ibid.* pp. 213, 290; *Monson's Tracts*, vol. ii. [N. R. S. xxiii.] pp. 250-1; Teonge, *Diary*, *passim*); but during the eighteenth century the practice had died out.

² The charge was brought by the master alone : Twysden and other officers were witnesses to the fact that the boys had not been on board the ship.

'false muster,' having, as it appeared, borne Lord Dorchester's two sons on the ship's books without ever requiring them to appear on board to attend muster. The bearing of young gentlemen on the ship's books had been a very common irregularity, but then officers of cautious and prudent habits guarded themselves against the penalty of such an infraction of the law by making the boys come on board to answer an occasional muster. The object in getting so early upon a ship's books was to gain as much as possible of the required six years of service as a midshipman, and, at the same time, to have the advantage of a longer continuance at school.¹

When I say that Captain Sandys, Paul Minchin, Sir James Barclay, and Captain Edward Buller were members of the court-martial, those who knew them will not wonder that they came to anything but a right judgment on the matter before them. Captain Samuel Hood (Sir Samuel), who was then a commander, a right-minded, honourable man, made the fifth member to compose the court. The offence with which Captain Coffin was charged brought him under the 31st article of war, which leaves nothing to the discretion of the court in case of conviction. The law is clear and peremptory: 'Any person convicted of such an offence [false muster] shall be cashiered and rendered incapable of further employment in his Majesty's naval service.' Yet, with words so

¹ The 'occasional muster' spoken of was really very exceptional. Thus Lord Dundonald has left on record that 'unknown to my father my uncle had entered my name on the books of various vessels under his command.' (*Autobiography of a Seaman*, vol. i. p. 46.) Although Byam Martin had more opportunities and the entries were not unknown to his father, I doubt if he ever answered a muster in his earlier ships. See *ante*, p. 23. Coffin's court-martial broke the neck of the illegal practice, and in a very few years it died out.

incapable of being misunderstood, those wiseacres thought their opinion might overrule an Act of Parliament. They found the prisoner guilty of the offence, and passed a mitigated sentence where no mitigation is allowed—they adjudged him to be only dismissed from his ship. This was a fortunate circumstance for Captain Coffin.

The admiralty, with Lord Howe at their head, acted upon his lordship's rigid notions of discipline and run into a measure of severity quite as irregular and unwarrantable as the judgment of the court-martial. The admiralty were of opinion that, as the charge of false muster had been proved, and the punishment awarded fell short of what the law prescribed, they had the power to amend the sentence, so as to make the punishment conformable to the article of war; they therefore ordered Captain Coffin's name to be struck out of the list of the navy.

Captain Coffin was well advised in his subsequent proceedings; he claimed to have his case laid before the King in Council, and by his Majesty's command the following questions, together with a copy of the minutes of the court-martial, were referred to the twelve judges:

1st. Whether the judgment of the court-martial is legal.

2nd. Whether the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have a power to set aside the sentence of the court-martial.

The judges reported as follows:

‘ May it please your Majesty,—

‘ In obedience to the order of your Majesty in Council we have taken into our consideration the charge exhibited against Isaac Coffin, Esq., the sentence of the court-martial, and also the resolution of the Board of Admiralty thereupon. And we are

of opinion that the said sentence is not legal, and that the punishment directed to be inflicted by an Act of the 22nd of the reign of his late Majesty King George II., cap. 33, upon persons convicted of the offence specified in the 31st article of war established by the said Act, cannot be inflicted, or judgment pronounced or supplied by any authority than that of the court-martial which tried the offence.

(Signed) KENYON, Loughborough,
[JAMES] EYRE, [FRANCIS] BULLER,
[HENRY] GOULD, [WILLIAM] ASHURST,
[BEAUMONT] HOTHAM, [JOHN] WILSON,
[NASH] GROSE, [ALEXANDER] THOMSON.'

Captain Coffin was therefore restored to the list of the navy.¹

It has been said, and I have heard it from good authority, that Lord Howe proposed to the King so to stretch his royal prerogative as to strike every member of the court-martial off of the list of the navy; but George III., who never acted without thinking, and generally thought right, observed that, as the members of a court-martial are bound by oath not to divulge their own, or the opinion of any other member of the court, it would be unjust to involve the whole of the members in one indiscriminate punishment. It is scarcely necessary to add that this ill-judged, intemperate proposition was

¹ A court-martial is the naval officer's palladium. The law is the same now as it was in Captain Coffin's case. The Admiralty 'can annul, suspend, or modify the sentence of a court-martial' as long as it does so on the side of mercy; but to increase the severity of the sentence either directly or indirectly by reflection, is as illegal as was the sentence of this court. 'Never tamper with the sentence of a court-martial' was advice given to me by Lord Hood of Avalon when he was first sea Lord and I was second; and when I succeeded him I found it most useful. Lord G. Hamilton once spoke of Lord Hood as being 'most judicially minded.'

rejected. The King was a great stickler for the prerogatives of the crown, but would never lend himself to a misuse of his powers.

After a lazy refit of the ship at Halifax, and a visit to one or two of the neighbouring ports, we proceeded to Jamaica, and arrived there the 15th of November, 1788.

This was the Prince's third visit to the island, and he was received with every mark of welcome and respect. The Council and Assembly voted a thousand guineas for a Star of the Order of the Garter to be set in diamonds, and the resolution of the House was presented by a deputation of its members in a well-expressed warm address ; in short everything was done that could testify the loyalty of this attached and splendid colony.

The people of Jamaica were in those days of their prosperity and happiness remarkable for their hospitality, sumptuousness in their style of living. Now, alas ! they are forced into a very different and very humbled condition, in which they look with continued fear and trembling to the great measure of emancipation, now daily expected, which, however due to God and to the natural rights of man, threatens their destruction.

The Andromeda sailed from Port Royal in company with the Amphion, Captain Henry Nicholls, who afterwards commanded the Royal Sovereign in the battle of the 1st of June, 1794. We were to beat up against the trade wind from Jamaica to Barbados ;¹ a very unusual voyage, and necessarily tedious, beating against the trade wind and a lee current, though from some cause, I know not what, the current occasionally sets to windward for a time.

We sailed from Jamaica at eight o'clock in the morning of the 15th of December, and anchored

¹ An extraordinary order to give—even at that period.

at Barbados at noon, the 16th of January, 1789, being 33 days. The voyage would have been much longer, if indeed it could have been accomplished, had we persevered, as was at first intended, in beating up by the islands of St. Domingo and Porto Rico. We stretched to the northward as far as the latitude 28° N., and there met with variable winds which favoured our course to the eastward for three days, so that when we again met the trade wind we were in a position to run down upon the island of Barbados.

Going into Carlisle bay at Barbados we fell in with the Solebay, of 32 guns, Captain John Holloway,¹ fresh from England. The Prince himself hailed through the speaking trumpet to ask the news, having a short time before heard of the unfortunate malady which at that time afflicted George III. and rendered him incapable of exercising the royal functions. It may be imagined with what intense anxiety we listened for Captain Holloway's answer, which was, 'I have the pleasure to inform your Royal Highness that the King is better: his Majesty is in a state of convalescence.' Amidst a thrill of joy throughout the ship the Prince replied.

After visiting Grenada, St. Vincent, and other islands in company with the Jupiter, Commodore Parker² (whom, under error, I have spoken of at an earlier period), we proceeded to English Harbour³ to refit, and sailed thence in the month of May for England, where we arrived (Spithead) the 21st day

¹ Captain Holloway was a very blunt honest man, and gave the Prince very good advice, 'which too seldom reaches the ear of the great and powerful.' The Prince, on seeing an open Bible in the cabin, asked Holloway if he was going to write a commentary on it, who replied, 'No, sir. I find in it all the principles of my duty, and to put my trust in God and not in any child of man.'

² See *ante*, p. 51.

³ Where our dockyard in the island of Antigua was situated.

before noon. This was an extraordinary short passage, and a ship which sailed from Antigua the same day spoke the *Hebe* frigate in the mouth of the Channel three weeks after our arrival. The master of the merchant ship said he was not surprised to hear it, as the *Andromeda* seemed to go two feet for his one ; and yet the *Andromeda* was no flier. Something ought to be done to improve the sailing qualities of our merchant ships ; bad sailing ships are sad clogs upon convoys in time of war. The merchant would find it much to his gain if this point were attended to, instead of thinking only of the capacity of the ship for stowage. The quicker the voyage, the quicker the return of profit, a fact which seems now to be acknowledged by the prevailing rage for railroads.¹

The *Andromeda* was immediately paid off ; the Prince hastened to town, was created Duke of Clarence and foolishly turned politician—a very bad trade for naval officers.² The bad example and bad taste of the Prince of Wales, corrupted as he had been by Fox, Sheridan, and other drunkards of the Whig party, may be some excuse for the undutiful conduct of the younger brother in arraying himself against the King's ministers. He had scarcely been a month on shore before he was identified as a decided party man, but he paid dearly for it in the end, as he well deserved.

Before the Duke of Clarence committed this act of folly there was every disposition to give him a

¹ There can be little doubt that, from the ship-builder's point of view, the Navigation Laws and the monopoly of the East India Company acted disadvantageously. The great improvement in modern ship-building owes its origin to untrammelled trade and the competition of the United States.

² And certainly not to the benefit of the navy. Sir John Briggs in *Naval Administration* shows how political admirals in the admiralty sacrificed the navy to party exigencies.

lead in the naval service ; but (perhaps happily for the nation) he strangled himself as a professional man just when he reached the highest grade of rank. He was deficient in almost all the qualities necessary for a person in high command. An unguarded way of speaking upon all subjects and to all persons, made him very unsafe to be trusted with any confidential duty. A flightiness and want of sound judgment left him without any settled opinions upon any point, and he was turned and twisted just according to the advice of the person who happened to be last with him ; it was therefore better he should be on shore than at sea.

When the *Andromeda* was paid off, the *Southampton* of 32 guns was immediately commissioned, and I believe at the Duke's request, in order to receive the officers and midshipmen, and to keep them together in case he should again go afloat. As a still further mark of attention, Hargood, the first lieutenant of the *Andromeda*, was made a commander ; and by his Royal Highness's particular desire, Captain Keats, the present excellent Governor of Greenwich Hospital, was promoted to the rank of post-captain and appointed to command the *Southampton*. These arrangements had scarcely been completed when, as I have before stated, the Prince went to London and commenced his foolish career as a politician.

Captain Keats was a lieutenant on board the *Prince George* when Prince William first went to sea, and there was no person to whom he was so steady in his friendship. Keats also cruised with us on board the *Andromeda* as his Royal Highness's companion during the time the ship was with Admiral Leveson Gower's squadron ; and it would have been to the credit and advantage of the Prince if he had shown equal discernment in selecting his associates in after

life. Keats was not only my captain in the Southampton, but from that time to the present moment he has been my intimate and sincere friend.

The Southampton was employed as a Channel cruiser and stationed between Portsmouth and the Downs. The captain's heart was supposed to be at the former place, where his attention to a beautiful young woman had been much noticed. She was a Miss Crawford, sister to Mrs. George Oakes, and we had pretty good proof that this report was well founded; we had no other way of accounting for the extraordinary perseverance of our captain in his efforts to beat down Channel from the Downs to Portsmouth against a strong south-west gale of wind. I forget how often the ship was forced back to the Downs, but it was never while there was a hope of gaining an inch towards the haven of joy. It was more than three weeks before the ship arrived at Portsmouth notwithstanding such persevering efforts.

Soon after our arrival an express reached Portsmouth from the Admiralty directing the Southampton to be held in constant readiness to weigh anchor and to prepare to receive Prince Edward (Duke of Kent)¹ for conveyance to Gibraltar the moment he arrived.

When Prince Edward embarked on board the Southampton he was one of the best-looking men I ever beheld; he was upwards of six feet in height, remarkably erect and well-proportioned, and withal a handsome manly cast of countenance; yet his amiable little daughter, our future Queen, is quite a humpty-dumpty.

Colonel Crawford² did not remain long at

¹ Father of her late Majesty, our well-beloved Queen Victoria.

² Colonel Crawford was sent by the King to accompany Prince Edward, who had been ordered back from Hanover suddenly and sent to Gibraltar.

Gibraltar ; he consigned his royal charge to the good keeping of General O'Hara,¹ who was not likely to let him run riot with impunity. The Prince soon brought his German education to bear, in the 7th regiment of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and his severe notions of discipline grew at length into intolerable tyranny, so that in after years, when he was himself Governor of Gibraltar, his conduct occasioned a most serious mutiny.

Some time after we had landed the Prince at Gibraltar, Colonel Lennox (the late Duke of Richmond) joined a regiment, and became so difficult to keep within the limits of military subordination that O'Hara was obliged to insist upon his recall ; and at the same time the 7th regiment was sent to Nova Scotia—a happy riddance for O'Hara, though he seemed to be the proper man to check such wrong propensities. In those days the officers and soldiers wore long tails, which however inconvenient and laughable according to our present notions was then one of the regulations of the army, and, being so, O'Hara was too strict a disciplinarian to allow of any deviation from it. I have been told, however, that some of the young men out of a perverse spirit, which delighted in thwarting O'Hara, determined to dock their tails. The General saw what was going on, and in the course of a couple of days, when the fashion had extended pretty much through a regiment, he took occasion at the close of the parade one morning to order all the cropped officers to draw up in front of him, and, without making the slightest comment, marched them off under a guard to the extreme end of the rock called Europa Point, and ordered that they should be encamped there,

¹ General O'Hara commanded the English troops at the siege of Toulon in 1793, and was wounded and taken prisoner.

and shut out from all communication with the garrison until their hair grew long enough again to decorate them with the ample tail established in the service. It was exactly like O'Hara to nip insubordination in the bud, and like his sarcastic mind to make the joke, as it was called, to recoil upon its authors, by the ridicule of their punishment.¹

Before we left Gibraltar to return to Spithead, two splendid horses arrived from the Dey of Algiers as a present to the Prince of Wales, and were put on board the Southampton. Stalls were fitted for them under the half deck, and, to prevent their falling when the ship rolled, bands of stout canvas doubled was placed under the belly and fastened to the deck above ; the feet reaching the deck to enable them to get relief by standing when they could. The terror of the horses and the clambering of their feet on the deck as the ship rolled was very distressing to see and to hear, and the poor creatures were so exhausted by this perpetual worry during a long and boisterous passage that they could hardly stand when landed at Portsmouth.

When running up Channel on this occasion, about midway between the Start and Guernsey, we fell in with a large sloop dismasted, and with the signal of distress (ensign union downwards) shown on a staff, and the people on board waving with an eagerness which betokened the want of instant help. Not a moment was lost in hauling towards the vessel and in preparing to hoist out the boat. In those days boats were not carried over the quarters or stern,² and there was a difficulty in hoisting one

¹ No punishment is equal to ridicule, as I have often seen in my career.

² Hoisting boats on the quarters came in pretty nearly with the new century (cf. *post*, p. 308, where quarter boats are mentioned in 1804) ; but so late as 1815, Burney (*Universal Dictionary*

out from the booms with the guns plunging into the water every roll the ship took, they were therefore run in out of the way. The six-oared cutter being safely in the water it was my lot to be ordered by Captain Keats to go to the rescue of the people if necessary, or to do whatever might be practicable to save the vessel ; the latter was quite out of the question, for I found the vessel waterlogged and sinking. The getting alongside a vessel dismasted and rolling in a heavy sea was most difficult and dangerous ; and from the evident state of alarm and confusion on board the sloop, I was apprehensive of increased danger from all making a rush to the boat and thus swamp us altogether. Before I attempted to take hold of the vessel I thought it right to guard against this danger, and with this view endeavoured to allay their terror by assuring them that they should all be saved if they would strictly obey my orders : if not I could not be answerable for the consequences. There was one general cry, ' We will —we will.' ' Well, then, I will now pull to the quarter of the vessel, and let one of your most active seamen hand in the two children ; then I will take the lady with the black hat, and then the other, but there must not be any attempt to rush into the boat ; I will also take one of the gentlemen, and then return for those who remain.' This settled, I pulled alongside, when the children were handed in, poor little wretches ! trembling enough to shake themselves out of our hands. To keep a boat near enough to a vessel in such a breaking cross sea, and at the same time to prevent her being stove and knocked to pieces, is a difficulty not easily described, and known only to those who have witnessed it ; and the diffi-

of the Marine) limits the term ' davit ' to the fish davit, then a long square piece of timber with a sheave at the outer end, as a lead for the fish pendant.

culty also in managing the removal of persons who have not got what we call sea legs is greater than if they had no legs at all. I was for a time quite in despair about effecting the removal of the lady with the black hat. Afraid to consign herself to the active hands of my men, she held so firm a grasp of the ropes of the vessel as to run a great risk of injury ; we were dragging at her in vain until I made one of my men spring out of the boat and disengage her hands. The men in the vessel seemed stupefied and were to the full as helpless as the women. The other lady behaved better and was prevailed upon at a proper moment to make a spring into the boat, and was caught by the seamen without the slightest inconvenience. With these five I pushed away to the frigate, all of us like so many drowned rats. The ship was lurching her gunnel in the water, so that it was another tremendous operation to get the ladies up the side, and one of them had a marvellous escape, she was as near as possible being squeezed to death between the ship and the boat. She, however, had the good fortune to get off with a slight bruise and a good ducking. Having at length put them on board, I hastened back to the sinking vessel, and having rescued all on board from a watery grave, I was glad enough to find myself once more on the Southampton's quarter-deck. Alas ! my troubles ended not here, a scene more distressing than tragic awaited me. When the ladies were dried, comforted, and refreshed, they came to the quarter-deck to make their earliest acknowledgments to the captain for their deliverance, and for his kind reception of them. I, also, having undergone the drying process, went upon deck, and had scarcely taken my foot off the ladder when the lady with the black hat fairly grasped me in her arms, with such a kiss as never lighted upon

the cheek of man before ; but man I was not, being only then of that awkward age when a lad knows not how to take a kiss, and particularly from an old, ugly woman. It was to be sure a matter of infinite dismay to me to be thus boarded ; but all around me, from the captain downwards, were convulsed with laughter to see how astounded I was by the well-intended mark of gratitude, which was evidently sincere from the tears she shed when she thanked me for the risk I had run to save them. The vessel was from Jersey, and had been to Plymouth on what they would persist in calling a party of pleasure ; how strange it is that people will call their yachts pleasure boats!¹ This pleasure boat had lost her mast in the gale, and the moment it was gone the sea made a fair breach over her.

The following day we anchored at Spithead, and I proceeded to London to pass my examination at the Navy Office touching my qualifications for a lieutenant. This done it was no longer necessary to persist in going to sea, having gone on to that moment uninterruptedly from the moment of entering the service. I therefore obtained my discharge from the Southampton, and soon found myself a gentleman at large in London ; it was, however, for a very short time. I had scarcely entered into the amusements and gaiety of a London life when the din of war ran through the country like wild-fire.

In the month of March 1790, intelligence was received of an outrageous act of insult to the British flag, and cruel treatment of several Englishmen, by Don [Estevan José] Martinez, the commander of a Spanish squadron on the north-west coast of North America. The din of war ran through the country like wild-fire, and was hailed by we candidates for promotion as a most auspicious event :

¹ B. Martin knew what sea-sickness was.

in an instant we were all in motion, flying to the different ports to join our ships. The nation at large seemed animated by an indignant feeling, and nobly responded to the determined language of Parliament. Peace was the universal wish of the country, but peace resting upon the high principles of national honour would alone be tolerated ; peace to be preserved by a full indemnification to the injured parties and an ample apology for the insult to our flag. It was with such feelings that the nation flew to arms after seven years of repose ; not, however, the repose of idleness, for the time had been profitably spent in renovating and augmenting the fleet.¹

The circumstances which occasioned the 'Spanish Armament,' as it is called, may be briefly stated.

In the year 1786 some enterprising British merchants, with the sanction of the Government and the support of the East India Company, made an establishment in King George's Sound on the north-west coast of North America, with the intention of opening a fur trade and carrying on a commercial intercourse with England and the East Indies. Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island) was the place selected by the settlers as their head-quarters, and a small fort was built there as a place of safety in case of any violence on the part of the natives. This, as it turned out, was an unnecessary precaution, for the inhabitants proved very friendly, and gave every facility to the enterprise of the adventurers.

This part of the coast was visited by Captain Cook in his first voyage, and was included as part of his discoveries, but the Spaniards, jealous of the growing importance and prosperity of this little

¹ An unusual event in the annals of this country, saving it from such an unseemly panic as occurred in 1885 and at other periods.

colony, sent Martinez to drive them away. This officer, partaking of the arrogance and presumption of his Government, boldly asserted the sovereignty of Spain from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of north latitude ; he therefore demolished the fort, seized the ships, imprisoned and ill-treated the people ; in short, Martinez executed the duties assigned to him with barbarous severity.

The particulars of this memorable transaction were stated in a manly memorial from Lieutenant Meares, of the Royal Navy, who commanded the ships employed by the Nootka settlers ; and the memorial was laid before Parliament on the 25th of May, with a copy of the correspondence and a message from the King, in which his Majesty stated that he was not only unable to obtain any satisfactory answer from the Court of Madrid, but, in the face of his remonstrance, a general armament was going on in the ports of Spain. This was quite enough : the Parliament assured his Majesty of their cordial support, and under such encouragement the Government was at full liberty to apply the whole naval energy of the country in vindicating its honour.

Before I proceed to review the progress and result of the Spanish Armament, it may be convenient to look to different periods of peace to see what exertions were then made to maintain the navy on a footing suited to the interests, the honour and safety of the country, by a needful preparation for war.

There is no better proof of the greatness of a nation than her power at sea. It may be traced as the foundation of the glory of England and of her commercial prosperity ; and at no period of our history were these distinguishing marks more conspicuous than throughout the twenty-two years of

war which terminated in 1815. All the maritime Powers in the world—France, Spain, Holland, Russia, America, and Denmark—were engaged at the same moment, one and all, in an endeavour to humble the naval power of England, but their efforts, mighty as they were, served only to quicken the patriotic feelings of the Parliament and the country, and to invigorate the energies of our seamen. Beset on every side by enemies, the British lion was never found asleep. On the contrary such was its vigilance, so great the power, and so effective the protection of the fleets of England in every quarter of the globe, that commerce poured its abundance into the lap of the country in greater profusion than had ever been known in times of profound peace. Such was the confidence of our merchants in the protection of the navy, that insurances were effected upon vessels to all parts of the world on easy terms, and yet the underwriters made enormous fortunes, the best possible proof that can be given of the security with which the swarming trade of the country could carry on its operations.¹

I have already alluded to the exertions made in the renovation of the fleet during Mr. Pitt's administration between 1783 and 1790, and the great power of the country in its naval means and resources when the Spanish Armament took place at the latter period. It is now time to ask if, at the present moment (1834), after a peace of nineteen years, we are in a condition to show an equal force, and to equip the ships with equal energy as at that time?

In 1790 we were powerful in every way. The spirit of the officers and men, and I may say of

¹ An admirable illustration of Captain Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power on History*; and a confirmation of it—the stronger from Mahan never having seen it.

the whole nation, were entirely in unison with the patriotic and noble feelings of the ministers. This gave such a concentration of strength to the Government that it needed only the intelligent, energetic mind of Mr. Pitt to apply it with vigour in vindication of the national honour.

I was present throughout the armament, and witnessed, from the beginning to the end of it, the zeal which marked the conduct of all the departments of the public service, and the example of the officers of all classes. It was an animating scene, and a lesson to the young members of the profession which none who were present will ever forget, and I am sure it served them in good stead throughout the arduous war which so soon followed.

March 1790.—By the express desire of the Duke of Clarence, and contrary to a more advantageous arrangement previously made for me, I joined the Valiant, of 74 guns, of which ship his Royal Highness was appointed captain. I was to follow my original destination, and to join Admiral Barrington's flag-ship, the Barfleur, on the arrival of the Valiant at Spithead ; and this soon followed, as his Royal Highness was particularly anxious that his ship should be one of the first to go to sea, and we worked day and night that he might be gratified in this laudable desire. I believe it was about the end of the month of May that I joined the Barfleur, and went soon afterwards to the Royal George, a new first-rate fitted for the reception of Admiral Barrington's flag as the second in command of the fleet. In October of the same year I was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and appointed to the Canada, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Conway, afterwards Lord Hugh Seymour ; but Sir Erasmus Gower was appointed acting captain in consequence of a blow on the head which

Lord Hugh received from the hand-lead, which, striking a whip on the main yard, turned in through the rattlings of the main rigging, and grazed diagonally the head of Lord Hugh, but with sufficient force to stun him, and to occasion his staggering against the fore brace bitts, which saved him from falling.

I have given a long and I fear a jumbled sort of statement with reference to the fleet at different periods.

I may fail to convince others that, as a naval nation, we do not now stand in the relative position with other countries which formerly placed us so pre-eminently above them. But it is pain and sorrow to me to confess, I have satisfied myself that whilst France, Russia, and America have greatly increased their naval power, we have not been sufficiently alive to their growing strength so to keep in advance of them as we ought.

In every degree that this observation is correct, so in proportion we expose our commerce, our manufactures, and the independence of the country to the tender mercies of our gigantic neighbours. The moment we begin to retrograde as a naval Power we are gone. Britannia must rule the waves or our commerce will be taken from us, and our manufactures smothered for want of vent. The best economy we can practise in peace is a liberal expenditure in preparing the fleet for war, in maintaining a large establishment of shipwrights, and having such a system in operation as may insure a vigorous application of our maritime strength when necessary.

The Dutch were once great at sea, and for a series of years nobly contended with us for the mastery. At length they grew careless about their naval concerns, and from that moment to the pre-

sent time they have never been able to regain their former position as a maritime Power.¹

The political state of Europe, look which way we will, is such as to make it manifest that the great struggle at sea cannot be far distant, and the time which may be left to us for preparation ought to be diligently used. The first blow will be everything ; and if we don't hold ourselves in a condition to strike it with tremendous effect, the indignant revenge of an infuriated nation will fall heavily on the ministers of the day, without waiting to apportion the blame between them and their predecessors in office.²

An intelligent, provident first lord of the admiralty would ask himself these questions when he charges himself with so high and responsible an office :

1. Are the arrangements in the civil branch of the service adapted to all the purposes of war, so as to work the whole machinery with energy and due effect ?
2. Have we a fleet in point of numbers and armament of each class, equal to the combined navies of France, Russia, and Holland ?
3. Are we decidedly superior to them in the

¹ Of the capture of St. Eustatius, February 1781, Rodney wrote : 'The blow was as sudden as a clap of thunder and as unexpected. The loss to Holland, France, and America is greater than can be conceived, and must distress them more than if the French islands had been taken ; the capture is immense. Had the Dutch been as attentive to their security as they were to their profits, the island had been impregnable.' Very applicable to ourselves not so very long ago !

² An anticipation of Tennyson's—

You, you that have the ordering of her fleet,
If you should only compass her disgrace,
When all men starve, the wild mob's million feet
Will kick you from your place,
But then too late, too late.

number and capacity of our steam-vessels, and how many merchant steamers may be speedily equipped for war purposes?

Have we steamers in ordinary and machinery prepared, ready for service?

4. Have the repairs of the fleet been kept up so as to warrant a confidence that the ships considered in good condition are really so?

5. Are our magazines amply supplied with stores, particularly hemp; and are the dockyard arrangements such as to insure the expeditious equipment of the fleet?

6. Do the means exist whereby we may enlarge our shipwright establishment, so as to be equal to the great exertions required in war; and what aid may it be practicable to obtain from private ship-builders?

7. Are there any reasonable grounds of complaint on the part of the shipwrights which it may be prudent to propitiate, by voluntarily doing towards them what in justice they may fairly claim as regards wages and prospective reward?

8. Have we, after so long a peace, officers of youthful years, experience, and activity, upon whom reliance may be placed in conducting the fleets and commanding the ships of the line?

9. Although gunnery has been much attended to, are we certain that the plan of having light guns for heavy shot will answer to fire double shotted throughout a long action, or are we deceiving ourselves by supposing that this nominally heavier arming will be effective, and is the windage of the shot a matter sufficiently attended to?

10. Have all the circumstances which tempt our seamen to enter the service of the United States of America been sufficiently considered, and what measures may best counteract a propensity of so

dangerous a tendency? See if the wages to the petty officers and able seamen is on a scale to prevent the greater temptation to the American service.

I entertain strong doubts and opinions on all these points, and there are others of very great importance which must occur to any sensible man who may undertake so high and so responsible a situation as that of first lord of the admiralty. Unless satisfactory answers can be given, the admiralty had better hasten to set their house in order before the tug-of-war begins. For my own part, I wonder that any naval man, pretending to be in a sane state of mind, will permit himself to be associated in a board where a false economy is made to stifle the consideration of questions upon which the fate of the kingdom rests.¹ If it should ever be my lot to be invited to a seat at the admiralty board, I shall, without hesitation, decline it, unless assured that the points to which I have adverted may be fully examined, and what is amiss speedily amended. I will never listen to that stupid notion of economy which hesitates to give to our able seamen wages that shall bind them to their native service.

England must keep ahead of all other nations in her naval concerns. We want not power for any purposes of ambition, but to intimidate those who would desire to involve the world in the miseries of war. Peace is a nobler object and more worthy of a Christian country, and let it be ever remembered that peace is best preserved by constant preparation

¹ Cf. the memorandum of a conversation with Lord Minto, vol. iii. p. 141, the obvious inference from which is that, in B. Martin's opinion, each of these questions could only be answered by 'No.' Providence has been wonderfully kind to us, who did not help ourselves, in giving us time to do so.

for war. Let England preserve her navy in due vigour ; let her guard against the apathy and carelessness which peace may produce, and guard against the misuse of the word 'economy' by allowing it to trespass on the true wants of the service ; then she will be in strength to crush any confederacy that may be formed against her. There is something in the native character of Britons, there is within the country such a capacity to accomplish any and every great object ; such a mass of intellect, such a spirit of enterprise, that when once roused to action by any national insult or encroachment upon British rights, there is scarcely any limits to the power of the country ; all that is needful is to give a right direction to its energies and to provide the means of doing so.

At all times England heretofore has stood pre-eminently above all other nations. Burchett¹ says it was so in Elizabeth's time, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada proved it. And the doctrine held by the learned Selden 'that the sea is capable of private dominion' was never more truly shown than in the late war, when all other nations were swept from the face of the deep. The question is, Can we now preserve that dominion ? I answer 'Yes ;' if we preserve our strength, it may be said, as of the fishes of the sea, the largest will swallow up the less. If neglect of our naval strength and indifference about our coast defences be allowed to go on, I verily believe London will be sacked in the first two months of war.

The Spanish Armament having accomplished all that was desired by procuring an ample apology

¹ Secretary of the Admiralty 1695-1742, and author of *A Complete History of the most remarkable Transactions at Sea*. The statement here attributed to him is correct, but his authority, except for affairs of his own time, is very slight.

from the Court of Madrid and full compensation to our injured merchants, the ships commenced paying off towards the end of November, and the Canada, of which ship I was the junior lieutenant, was one of the three first ordered into Portsmouth harbour.

The Government, with a liberal consideration, ordered a quarter's wages to the officers and men in addition to the wages due to them. This not only served to cover the expenses the officers incurred for so short a service, but the seamen took it as an encouragement to volunteer their services on any future occasion. It was a just and well-judged act which gave great satisfaction.¹ The whole expense of the Spanish Armament was about three millions.

To show how speedily the fleet was sent to sea, I need only say that press warrants were issued on the 4th of May, and Admiral Barrington sailed with the first division of the fleet on the 29th of June, and in August, after being joined by Lord Howe's division, we were at sea with thirty-seven sail of the line.

After making a show off Ushant and cruising for some time, the fleet arrived off the Lizard, probably by the appointment of the Government, to receive any new instructions which the state of the negotiations might require. The following day all

¹ An example that might be followed by future rulers with advantage to the public service, as there are very few officers in the navy who have not spent more than the official income in command, and I have never yet heard of one who saved on his pay. Even the allowance of paint is insufficient, and the senior executive officer has to pay to keep his ship's appearance respectable. Captain Sir John Philimore, a distinguished but eccentric officer, about 1830, calculated the superficial feet of area of the ship's side and the quantity of paint, and as it was only sufficient to paint one side of the ship, requested to know which side should be painted; as his calculations were incontrovertible, it is said the allowance was doubled.

eyes were turned towards the *Perseus*, Captain Palmer, standing towards the fleet with the signal flying to speak the admiral.

The moment the admiral received his despatches the fleet crowded all sail for Ushant, which gave quite a thrill of delight throughout the ship, fully believing that the negotiations had taken a favourable turn—*i.e.* such a turn as would produce war. But, after manœuvring awhile off the French coast, we had the mortification to return to Spithead on the 1st of September without a bird in hand, or even a shot fired.

In process of time State secrets leak out, and it is well perhaps they do so, or history would be very meagre and uninteresting. The Duke of Leeds, when Marquis of Carmarthen, was in 1790 the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and in that capacity, of course, Pitt's principal colleague in conducting the negotiations with Spain.¹ Some years after the Spanish Armament, and not long before the Duke's death, he arrived at Plymouth in his private station, and I dined with him at Commissioner Fanshawe's, whose family is by some process connected with the Leeds family.

The Duke, always of a convivial turn, took so freely of the commissioner's good wine that he became very communicative and interesting upon the State affairs of history. Amongst other things, he stated that he had at the time of the Spanish negotiations taken upon himself a degree of power and of responsibility which he believed no minister had ever before exercised. He said despatches arrived which placed beyond all doubt the determination of France to take up the cudgels with Spain, and to unite their fleets at Cadiz. Instantly,

¹ Secretary of State, Dec. 1783—June 1791. He succeeded to the dukedom in March 1789, and died in 1799.

on the receipt of this intelligence, the Duke, in the absence of every other minister from London, and the King at Windsor, sent off an express with orders to Lord Howe, in the King's name, to bring the French fleet to action if they put to sea ; thus, as the Duke said, he took upon himself individually to declare war. It was a bold measure (of which Mr. Pitt was instantly informed by express), but warranted by knowing that a moment lost might have been the very moment to effect the movement of the fleet from Brest, and thus to frustrate the whole object of the armament. It is with ministers as with officers in command under critical circumstances, 'Nothing venture, nothing have.'

This anecdote of the Duke's brought immediately to my recollection what I have stated of the proceedings of the fleet when the *Perseus* joined us off the Lizard.

Prior to Lord Howe's joining the fleet we had Sir John Jervis (Lord St. Vincent) on board the *Barfleur* as captain of the fleet, and I remember once at the admiral's table the conversation led the admiral to observe that he was aware of an opinion which prevailed that he was averse to the responsibility of a chief command, but he said it was not the case, and that he was always ready to serve as commander-in-chief of any fleet, in any quarter of the globe.

I have already mentioned my promotion to the rank of lieutenant in October 1790,¹ when I was in my eighteenth year, but I believe my look and size gave me a younger appearance, and hence a story Sir J. Colpoys used to tell so frequently, that at last he believed it. Sir John was ever the cheerful and kind friend of everyone, but especially of we humble midshipmen, and often, with his boyish

¹ See *ante*, p. 143.

good humour, paid us a visit in the cockpit. It was, as he used to relate, upon one of those occasions that, on my receiving intelligence of my promotion, I came down to my brother mids. and with a deep sigh said, 'Well, my lads, I have got it at last ;' but Sir John, by way of giving a higher colour to the story, never failed to say that I was at the time only fifteen. I would not have had Sir John deprived of the pleasure he took in telling this story by any contradiction, or correction of the fact as relates to my age, but I mention it because I know others have repeated the story.

On being paid off in 1790 I thought I was entitled to a short run on shore, and short enough it was, for it was very early in 1791 that the war-whoop again called for naval exertions to enforce submission on the part of Russia, and of Holland, in some matters of dispute.

The navigation of the Scheldt was, I believe, the point with Holland ; but the more important object lay with Russia, and on that account it was called the Russian Armament. In those days we could settle a couple of such matters with one blow, but now we bear a good deal of kicking without showing any resentful feeling.

I was appointed to the *Inconstant*, a fine new frigate of 36 guns, commanded by the late Admiral George Wilson, a remarkably amiable man, but more in his element in the exercise of great hospitality at his beautiful seat, Redgrave, Suffolk, than on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war.

There was a prodigious display of splendid well-manned ships, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, moored in two long lines abreast and occupying the whole range of anchorage at Spithead. The fleet was under the command of Lord Hood.

The assemblage of so many well-manned ships

in a very short space of time could never have been effected but by impressment. I will not, however, again advert to that subject, having already shown that on this occasion, as well as in the Spanish Armament in the preceding year, we gained all we desired, and prevented war by an instant display of our great naval power.

The large fleet at Spithead drew people from all parts of the kingdom, and dinners and balls were quite the order of the day. But of these we, in the Inconstant, partook only occasionally when the ship happened to arrive from sea with a lot of pressed men, as we were constantly cruising to take them out of the homeward-bound ships.

This armament ended also in the autumn, and the Inconstant was ordered to Woolwich to be paid off. This was the first time I ever went up the Thames, and I was greatly interested in witnessing the accurate judgment and skill of the old pilot in 'backing and filling' all the way up from Gravesend. I know of no better lesson for a young man than an occasional trip on the Thames on board a collier, but, alas ! steamers are pushing aside the beautiful movements of a sailing ship.

I had but a short breathing time in London when I was appointed third lieutenant of the Juno, of 32 guns, Captain Samuel Hood, afterwards Sir Samuel. This ship was appointed to cruise in the Channel between Portsmouth and the Start, and if the salvation of the kingdom had rested on this single ship she could not have been kept more constantly at sea. Summer or winter, blow high, blow low, she was always cruising, and often went out for no better purpose than that of fighting with the winds in the Channel.

Hood was not a man who took pleasure in society ; his heart was in his profession and he was

never so happy as when at sea, though the dead [time] of peace offered no temptation to be there, except the chance of chasing a smuggler. The chance of catching one was always very much against us, for the Juno was no flier.

Here it was that I became intimate with Sir Samuel Hood ; he was ever after unto the day of his death a warm and steady friend, as his many letters now in my possession testify.

Hood was a singularly absent man and would be for hours together without speaking a word ; even at his own table he was reserved to a distressing degree, and seemed absorbed in thought about his ship. When we were beating against tremendous gales in the winter without any sort of object in view, no 'Mother Carey's chicken' (the stormy petrel) ever seemed to enjoy it more thoroughly than did Hood ; he would be for hours and hours on deck without exchanging a word with anyone, and we used to have a joke, that in his excessive absence he quite forgot that there were ports where he might have taken refuge from the storm, and save a great deal of unnecessary wear and tear of his Majesty's sails and rigging.

However disagreeable this endless cruising was to many, it made the Juno an admirable school for the midshipmen, and I believe we must have had full forty of them in the ship, and it was no bad place for the young lieutenants.

Having gone to Guernsey to get information about smugglers, the ship was caught there in a very heavy gale of wind, and placed in the utmost peril in an open roadstead with the wind right in. It was in the depth of winter, and in such short days no time was to be lost in deciding whether to take the chance of being able to ride the gale out at anchor, or at all risks to cut the cable and seek safety

at sea by the desperate expedient of trying to get out through what is called the Russell Channel. The gale was upon the increase after the sun had passed the meridian, and if the ship should part her cable in the night nothing could save her, or a creature on board. Either way, the situation of the ship and the choice of difficulties before us was enough to have shaken the nerves of any but a thorough seaman, and yet I never recollect any situation in which greater composure was shown while discussing and balancing the dangers which lay before us, be our choice either way. We had an excellent ship's company, and could rely on their steady cool conduct in any situation, however awful ; it was therefore determined while daylight lasted to quit the anchorage, and rely on a merciful Providence and on our own efforts to effect our escape through the Russell passage, which is beset with rocks in every direction, and a passage we should never have ventured upon in fine weather ; in fact the heavy sea that was running broke upon the sunken rocks and thus pointed them out to us.

It was a prudent practice of Captain Hood's whenever we anchored in an open roadstead in the winter, to close reef the topsails, and reef the courses,¹ so that this necessary preparation, which we could not have effected in such weather, made us easy on that point.

All hands were now called, and every officer and man being at his station, awaited with watchful ear the thrilling call, 'Cut the cable.' This done, there was a doubt for a moment if the ship would cast the right way, so as to clear the rocks astern, but the fore storm-staysail was run up and taking the right way occasioned great satisfaction, as there

¹ So it was of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Thomas Symonds when I was a midshipman under him in the *Spartan* in 1847-9.

was now nothing to attend to but the bracing about the yards, for we had no sail set, and steered the ship where the water seemed the least broken by the sea, but the whole was in a foam. Not a syllable was uttered except by the captain, whose orders were promptly obeyed. I suppose a more breath-stopping scene was never witnessed than when the ship was tearing through the water before the fury of the gale ; and threading the needle, as it were, between the rocks ; but it was a glorious thing to witness the serenity of mind which marked the conduct of every individual, and none more than our gallant and exemplary captain.¹

The seamen were aloft in the tops ready to let fall any sail that might be required, and presently, after passing the narrowest of the Russell passage, it became necessary to haul more up, to stretch out into the open Channel by the Casket rock, on which there is a lighthouse ; the [close reefed] main topsail, reefed foresail, and storm staysails were therefore speedily set, and just as the day closed in we had the happiness to be clear of all danger, and enjoyed ourselves in a tremendous gale of wind in the open sea during the whole night, free from all alarm about rocks. There is nothing English seamen will not do if they are led on by officers in whom they have confidence, and who show them a good example.

During the remainder of the peace the Juno continued to be the most active and persevering cruiser against the smugglers of any ship ever so employed. Our captain's zeal never abated, and the same perseverance in what he believed to be good for the service was always conspicuous, and certainly a

¹ This reminds us of a somewhat similar display of seamanship in saving the *Magnificent*, of 74 guns, by Captain John Hayes, from a most dangerous anchorage off Basque Roads in 1812. See James, *Naval History*, vol. v. pp. 332 *et seq.*

most useful point in Hood's character, though sometimes injudiciously applied.

In the summer of 1791, I think it was, the Juno was ordered to Weymouth to attend upon George III and the royal family, and having no time allowed to make preparation, we were not quite so smart as we wished, but the paint brush after our arrival at Weymouth did much to give the ship a more gay appearance. The principal preparation however lay in another way, and rested individually with the captain. It became necessary to provide largely and handsomely for the royal table and the numerous train of attendants at lunch, which was in fact providing a daily dinner for them when afloat. This was no small affair for six weeks, and as Captain Hood was at that time a very poor man (nothing but his pay), he had no alternative but to borrow money, so that the honour of being selected for this service ended in his being 700*l.* in debt, with no other set off against so great an inconvenience but the royal thanks. Not an officer of any grade promoted.¹ Hood was too modest a man to apply for reimbursement of his expenses, and it was a shameful omission on the part of the admiralty not to provide against so serious a loss to Captain Hood.² In after times the yachts were very properly brought into use on such occasions, and all expenses defrayed by the Board of Green Cloth.

It was perfectly delightful to see the good old King in the daily enjoyment of this sort of relaxation from the cares and ceremonies of royalty, and sailing about in Portland roads in the most joyous

¹ Even in my day captains had to incur heavy expenses on account of official passengers, not repaid for months. The present regulations are satisfactory.

² Modesty in claiming our just rights is an injustice to ourselves, and an injury to our successors, whose rights we are bound to consider.

spirits. The Queen, also, but with less unbending affability, took pleasure in an amusement which still had the excitement of novelty, for it was only the second year of such aquatic pastime. Surrounded by their daughters, all of them very fine young women, it was in the highest degree exemplary to see their affectionate feeling towards each other in their relative positions, nor was their propriety of conduct to all around them less remarkable.

The Princess Royal (since the Queen of Würtemberg) was a tall, good figure, very erect, and with a sort of position of the head thrown back which gave her a haughty manner. She had an evident tendency to be corpulent; but no one could ever imagine she would have spread out to such rotundity of space as she occupied during many years, and which seemed to increase up to the day of her death.

When the Queen of Würtemberg last visited England, William IV. sent for me to desire I would have a large chair to hoist her in and out of the yacht, when the following dialogue took place.

I said there was a chair ready that would perfectly answer.

'No such thing,' said the King; 'you have no notion of her size.'

'Sir, the chair is of dimensions to receive any two women in the kingdom.'

'I tell you it won't do; she is larger than any three women, aye, than any four women in the kingdom.'

'Sir, what I speak of is more like a sofa than a chair.'

'I tell you again it won't do, and I desire you will get a larger.'

I believe the chair I had made in consequence of this command is now in the lower room at St.

James's Palace, kept no doubt as a model chair for royal ladies.

The Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth were a good deal alike in person, and about the same height. They both grew very large in later life, so that as they stood in a ball-room my eye, which is very accurate, made it clear that their dimensions, across the beam, exceeded, by some two inches, their perpendicular measure. As young women they were what everyone would call rather well-looking.

The Princess Mary (now Duchess of Gloucester) at the time I speak of was a remarkably striking and interesting person, both in countenance and figure, and full of joyous spirits. I seldom recollect seeing any young woman of a more captivating appearance. She has grown now large and coarse, so that those who do not recollect her in the year 1792 might be inclined to question the accuracy of my description of her.

The Princess Amelia was also a singularly pre-possessing person, and I can see her now dancing the old 'country dance' on the quarter-deck of the Juno with Lady Paulet as her partner, and her ladyship wearing one of the young mid.'s cocked hats.

During the King's stay at Weymouth the Prince of Wales and Duke of York arrived to pay their Majesties a visit, and the following morning accompanied them on board the Juno. The Prince soon felt the motion of the ship so inconvenient that he made his exit in great haste, and landed at Lulworth Cove, where a carriage was always in waiting in case any of the party might wish to return by land, for it was sometimes ten or eleven o'clock at night before the royal family could land at Weymouth, owing more to calms or adverse winds than inclination to be so late.

The Prince had a very narrow escape when leaving the ship in the barge, which was partly owing to the bad management of Captain R. Grindall,¹ a half-pay officer who was Captain Hood's visitor, a resident at Weymouth, who on pretence of knowing the landing-place at Lulworth proposed to go into the boat, and not content to be a passenger, he jumped into the coxswain's place and thus usurped the honour properly due to one of we lieutenants, as no one had ever before heard of any difficulty in landing there. We were very angry at this, and in our envy were not sorry to see this half-pay coxswain in a difficulty. He pushed the boat off when the ship had fresh stern way without holding on by his stern-fast, or waiting a moment until the ship began to gather way ; the consequence was that the heir apparent had nearly been consigned to the fishes of the sea by the stock of the sheet anchor just scraping the gunnel of the boat.

The Prince of Wales was at this time well-looking, and singularly graceful in his manners. Nothing struck me more than his marked respect to the King ; he never spoke without holding his hat off from his head. Putting aside the better feelings to which some persons might attribute this respectful demeanour, it is good policy to show an outward and visible sign of reverence to the kingly authority, and one can only regret that what is said to have passed behind the curtain was not quite of the same character.

I had some years after the period of which I am writing an opportunity to see and to read a letter in the King's own handwriting, speaking in terms of angry reprobation of the Prince of Wales's conduct.

¹ Richard Grindall, a captain of 1783. He commanded the Prince at Trafalgar, and died a vice-admiral and K.C.B. in 1820.

The letter to which I allude was put into my hands by the person who has it now in his possession with other interesting papers of his father's, who was greatly in the confidence of George III. It was written in very strong terms. I remember full well the following paragraph : speaking of the Prince he says : 'his shameful and profligate extravagance, his conduct to his mother, the Queen, his notorious disregard of all religious principles and duties, bring discredit on the royal character, which it is not less his interest than mine to maintain in all possible purity.' The letter is well expressed, but defective in its orthography ; it concludes by commanding the person to whom it is addressed to read every word of it to the Prince.

To say nothing of the propriety and great national advantage of a good example in one at the head of a nation, I believe George III was really a religious man, and looked with pious confidence to the mercy of that gracious Being at whose word nations and empires rise and fall. It was with this feeling ever uppermost in his mind, that he gave the memorable answer to the Prince of Wales when fired at in the theatre by Hatfield. The Prince had been dining at Lord Melbourne's, where he received the intelligence of the attack upon the King, and with dutiful alacrity proceeded to the play-house, where he found the audience still clamorous in their joy at the King's escape, and marking by often repeated cheers their admiration of his beautiful composure. The Prince with that dignity of grace and elegance so peculiarly his own, and so truly royal, expressed his joyful congratulations, and admiration of his father's undisturbed serenity, upon which last expression the King replied, 'Ah ! George, he who puts his trust in the right place has nothing to fear.'

The presence of the Prince, and the scene altogether was so exciting, and the loyalty of the audience so entirely beyond the possibility of restraint, that it was in vain to make any effort to go on with the play. The moment the shot was fired the King stood up with undaunted firmness to show that he was not touched, and then it was that the joy of such an assurance and admiration of the good old man gave rise to such bursts of love and loyalty as might well assure him how completely he reigned in the breasts of his people.¹

At the time when the Juno was in attendance on the King, the French Revolution was making rapid strides to the consummation of that wickedness which was so remarkable throughout their land for a series of years afterwards.

The unprovoked murder of their King and the horrible idea of the extinction of all religion seemed enough to fill at once the measure of public iniquity ; but, having disowned their God, it was no wonder the unbridled passions of vicious men should make light of the crime of murder. The thirst of human blood was such that men guiltless of all crime were

¹ On 15 May, 1800, as the King was entering the royal box at Drury Lane, he was fired at by Hatfield, a discharged soldier, who was afterwards proved to be mad from the effects of a wound in the head. This was not known at the time, and the enthusiasm was very great when Mrs. Jordan came forward and sang the National Anthem, with an additional verse written by Sheridan on the spur of the moment :

‘ From every latent foe,
From the assassin’s blow,
God shield the King !
O’er him Thine arm extend ;
For Britain’s sake defend
Our father, prince, and friend ;
God save the King ! ’

She sang this three times during the evening.—*European Mag.*, July 1800, p. 49. *Blackwood’s Mag.*, November 1850, p. 552.

for that reason pointed at as suspected of being unfriendly to the new state of things. Every hour saw unoffending victims dragged to the guillotine, and their mangled bodies drawn through the streets amidst the mirth and blasphemy of the multitudes. Some, and not a few, were entangled in the savage crimes of an infuriated rabble (goaded on by infuriated women), not having courage to encounter the sure destruction which awaited those who attempted to withdraw from such scenes.

Walking the quarter-deck of the Juno one day with Lord Chesterfield, who was taking a passage to Falmouth in the ship to inspect the packets, his lordship being at the time postmaster-general, I ventured to say I supposed the King felt a good deal annoyed at the revolutionary movements in France. Lord Chesterfield replied: 'Yes, very much. It was only the day before we left Weymouth that his Majesty had said, putting down the newspaper: "I am much grieved to see such an unruly temper throughout the French nation, and the bad feeling it has produced in this country, as we see so strongly expressed at public meetings. All this must lead to great mischief, Lord Chesterfield, and I am very anxious for the royal family of France; they are placed in awful circumstances, and no one can foresee how it may all end. It may not come to pass in my time, I do not expect it will, but you may be assured, Lord Chesterfield, there is a feeling gaining ground which is likely to occasion a great change in this country, and may cost my children much trouble. It will require on their part more than common fortitude and prudence. God grant it may go well with them!"'

Lord Chesterfield was very communicative at all times, and I experienced great personal kindness from him. He gave me many very interesting

anecdotes of the King, with whom he was always a prodigious favourite. Many good-humoured jokes between the King and Lord Chesterfield often amused we listeners ; his Majesty used to delight in giving scope to Lord Chesterfield's repartee, which was always well put, and never carried beyond the most courtier-like respect.

The postmaster-general, in the pride of office, proposed to the King to have one of the Falmouth packets ordered round, and accordingly the Chesterfield soon joined our squadron. The person who commanded this vessel, Captain Jones, was not in the least conversant with naval manœuvres ; it was therefore a material object for safety's sake, in a space so limited for evolutions as Weymouth and Portland roads, to keep the Chesterfield as much separated from us as due delicacy towards her godpapa would permit. It happened, however, that the packet (a very nice-looking ship) was placed by her captain one day, when there was a fresh breeze, in a position quite unwarranted by only three days' experience in naval tactics. The consequence was that the Shark sloop of war, commanded by that excellent and greatly beloved man the Honourable Arthur Legge,¹ was forced into such a situation that she could not escape running on board the Juno where the royal family covered the quarter-deck, or on board the Chesterfield. It may be supposed Legge did not hesitate which should receive the shock, and to avoid the Juno bore up athwart the Chesterfield's course, having ineffectually made all sorts of signs and signals for her to get out of the way. The collision of the two ships in so fresh a breeze was no joke. In an instant away went the figure-head (a well carved representation of his lordship in his robes of Parlia-

¹ Afterwards Admiral Sir Arthur Legge.

ment), the bowsprit, fore top-mast and main top-gallant mast, with such an awful crash that one might have thought both ships knocked to pieces, but happily no lives were lost, and the *Shark* escaped without any material damage.

The good old King, who knew what delight we had in doing whatever might tend to his amusement, took this to be a part of the designed exhibitions of the day, and immediately called out in a rapturous tone: 'Very fine, very fine, how beautiful, very fine indeed!' (addressing the Princess Royal), 'I never saw anything finer.' It was quite impossible to stand all this, and off we went, a parcel of us, to have our laugh out where it could be indulged without offence to the royal ears.

The sailing about in a ship of war, attended by several others, was so new and agreeable to his Majesty, that a thousand questions came from him that quite startled the nerves of persons unaccustomed to his rapid and rambling volubility. It is beyond description the incoherence with which he would fly from one thing to another, to the great distress of we young folks, who were so awed in the presence of royalty as not to feel much at ease under any circumstances. The King, however, generally supplied our want of promptness in replying to his questions, by kindly answering them himself in a sort of way, to show an impatient desire to get on with his catechismal habit of addressing people. I own I often thought the royal mind had not, at that time, recovered the bewilderment under which it laboured three years before, in 1788 or '9, and which at a subsequent period rendered him incapable of holding the reins of government.

The King, as he advanced towards anyone, had a peculiar sort of stare, and half smile, which tended to discompose those who, like myself, would

rather have been a hundred miles off than be found within his orbit, for although meant as good humour and condescension, it was more than an awkward, uncourtier-like boy could encounter with composure. One day, very soon after I began to move in the circle of royalty, his Majesty seeing me on the Esplanade at Weymouth, advanced towards me with the sort of look I have described, and for the life of me I had no means of escape. I knew not what to be at. I was truly in what is vulgarly called a funk, and as the royal personage slowly advanced I became more and more hurried and nervous ; at last losing all self-command and without waiting his first word, I burst out, ' How do you do, Sir ?' upon which his Majesty seeing the thing in its true light laughed very heartily, and then went on with a thousand good-humoured questions.

I remember an unfortunate young midshipman being pent up, as it were, in the corner of the after part of the quarter-deck one day, just when some of the sea birds called gulls were hovering about. The King burst out in a moment, ' Young gentleman, what birds are those—pigeons ?' ' No, your Majesty, gulls.' ' Gulls, gulls,' continued the King ; ' Where do they come from ? What do they feed upon ? Where do they roost ?' All this was uttered with the greatest rapidity and without waiting any reply to either question ; indeed the poor mid. was so confounded that he was ready to sink into the deck, and it may also be said that his life was saved by his Majesty's attention being drawn to some other object.

Whenever the royal family came on board, and the ship under sail, the people were kept at their different stations, and the lower deck quite clear. One day the King and Queen came out of the cabin together and were inclined to pay a visit to the lower deck. When I discovered the intended

frolic, I found his Majesty with infinite awkwardness trying how it was best to go down the ladder ; first his foot was planted on the upper step, as if to descend in the usual way of going down stairs, presently he turned to try the other way to make a stern board of it ; but not quite satisfied that he was right, I found on my approach that he and the Queen were holding a council of war, and being called in to assist in the deliberations, the latter mode of proceeding was adopted.

My accidental appearance was very fortunate ; I do believe if left to themselves they would have encountered a very bumping, disagreeable passage from one deck to the other, for if the heel slips in going down, the hinder part of the human body is sure to strike each step in the descent. I endeavoured to explain this hazard in the most delicate terms I could employ, and with sufficient clearness to make her Majesty at once take the lead with her face towards the ladder. This is a caution which I always give to ladies, however contrary to court etiquette such mode of presentation may be.

Having reached the lower deck my duty was to think of the safety of another part of the royal person, and that a very tender one, too, considering the King's then recent malady—I mean the head. The height of a frigate of the Juno class, the old 32, is about 5 feet 4 inches between decks, so that there was a constant danger of his Majesty throwing his head suddenly up and receiving a severe blow ; it kept me quite in a nervous fidget the whole time. We were the only three persons at the time on the lower deck, and I was desired to explain everything as they walked round. His Majesty, getting tired of stooping so long, was not sorry to sit himself down in the midshipmen's berth, and then commenced innumerable questions as to my professional

service, &c., &c. Finding I had served with Prince William (Duke of Clarence) in every ship he had ever commanded, the conversation became very interesting, and occasioned them to tarry so long in this unfrequented part of the ship that a sort of hue and cry made us aware that some uneasiness prevailed on account of their Majesties' long absence from the quarter-deck. This was still more increased when one of the anxious attendants, Colonel Price, reconnoitred the cabin and found the royal couple missing. The alarm soon reached those above, and set one of the lords off, accompanied by one of the officers of the ship, in search of the absentees. We were found very snug in the midshipmen's berth ; the Queen in the enjoyment of a half-broken chair, while his Majesty was politely content to take his seat on a poor mid.'s chest. For myself I can't say much for enjoyment ; I stood before them almost exhausted, answering the thousand questions put to me, and they ceased not even when the intruders discovered our retreat. The King long recollects his visit to the lower deck, and had always a question ready for me relating to the conversation on that occasion.

I never saw the King after the Juno left Weymouth until 1794, or beginning of 1795, when I was presented at the levee on my return to England as a post-captain. His Majesty received me with a very gracious and kind recollection of old times, and spoke in very pleasant terms of my early attainment of post rank.

In those days it was generally deemed presuming in lieutenants to appear at court, and although I was in town for a time when I held that rank, I did not venture to cross the threshold of the royal chamber, until my father thought it best I should do so.

George III had always a kind manner to those about him, and to the officers of the ship. I

remember one day Captain Yorke (the late Sir Joseph), when on board the Juno, saw the King in some difficulty in going towards the forecastle, and offered his arm, which was immediately accepted, and the King looking at him with great earnestness said, 'I can never refuse the arm of a Yorke,' in allusion to Yorke's father who, when urged by the entreaty of the King, accepted the office of Lord Chancellor. Mr. Yorke, [who] had promised his brother, Lord Hardwicke, and the opposition party that he would not accept office, excused his breach of faith, declaring that he could not resist the tears of his sovereign ; his party reproached him in bitter terms, and the whole circumstance had such an effect upon his mind that he destroyed himself that night.

The winter following our attendance on the royal family the Juno resumed her station as a Channel cruiser, and the unabated perseverance and zeal of her captain kept us constantly fighting with the winds throughout the most tempestuous season known for several years.

On one occasion, about six weeks after leaving Weymouth, an accident occurred on board the Juno which gave the good King an opportunity to show, in a very striking manner, his benevolent and kind feeling towards those so lately in attendance upon him. On a passage from the Start to Portland orders had been left to wear the ship round on the other tack at noon, without any further directions from the captain, who had laid himself down to sleep, as was usual with him by day when the weather was such as to make him wish to be up all night. Lieutenant Servante had the forenoon watch, and being my senior, and both watches on deck at the relief of the watches, he ought in propriety to have performed this manœuvre ; but he was a lazy, nervous sort of person, and was too happy to delay

a moment until I, as the third lieutenant, came up to relieve him. I laughed at him for his indolence, and taking the speaking-trumpet prepared to perform this evolution. Strange to say that, with the spray of the sea flying over the ship, he did not go below in the customary way by the quarter-deck ladder, but, for the purpose probably of peeping into the galley to see how the cooking was going on in such weather, he went forward along the weather gangway, so as to go down by the forecastle ladder ; and at the very instant that he was straddling across the weather main-sheet, which was slack along the gangway, the strap of the tack block gave way, there being at the moment a heavy gust of wind, and Servante was thrown up to an immense height, certainly more than half the height of the main top, and fell with his thighs across the gunnel of the launch ; and when I jumped on the booms to his assistance and saw his limbs quite doubled up under him, the first feeling in my mind was that it would have been fortunate for him, poor fellow ! if he had been thrown overboard. He was, however, speedily removed into the gun-room,¹ and, the table being cleared away, he was stretched out in that clear space and under the skylight to have his limbs set, which was done with such wonderful skill by the surgeon, Mr. Clifford, that when I went to Servante's cabin-door to ask after him at four o'clock, when I was relieved from my watch on deck, I found him really quite easy, as he said, and comfortable. The right thigh was broken very near up to the hip, and again about six inches below it, so that the operation of setting must have been very difficult. The left thigh was also broken opposite the lower fracture of the other.

¹ The officers' mess place in ordinary times ; the hospital and amputating-room in action.

Under such circumstances Captain Hood very properly bore up for Portsmouth and sent the poor sufferer to the hospital ; and the accident being stated in the papers, and by that means known to the King, a special messenger belonging to the Household was sent off to Portsmouth with a most kind letter of condolence from Lord Chesterfield, written by his Majesty's command, and under the same authority he gave this unfortunate officer a most cheering assurance that his Majesty would take care he should be provided for, and desiring to know what he himself would desire. Servante, who was a man of no ambition, and of a mean mind, never for an instant thought of advancement in his profession, but replied that the command of a packet would compass his highest ambition, and to a packet he was accordingly appointed, having also a pension settled upon him of 80*l.* a year. Servante had been taken from the situation of Mayor of Barnstaple to join the Juno, much to his discontent, and undoubtedly he was fit for anything rather than a sea life.

The tender and kind feelings of good old George III found no place in Lord Melville's bosom. Servante's son entered the navy under my command, and served almost the whole of his six years with me ; and his father having died, I felt myself bound to do all in my power to forward the young man's advancement in the service, and particularly as he bore an excellent character, but it was in vain ; year after year I brought the boy's case before Lord Melville, who at last made him, more to get rid of my importunity than from the circumstances I had so often stated respecting the father, and the wishes of George III about him.

Soon after our arrival at Spithead the Juno was ordered to receive Admiral Gravina, of the Spanish

service, with Captain Valdes and another Spaniard, and to proceed to Corunna with them. We had also the present Lord Holland as a passenger going out for his health. On our arrival at Corunna Gravina introduced me to the Governor-General of Galicia, telling him I was a regular John Bull ! The Governor said he was glad of it, and that I should have a piece of roast beef for dinner ; and so it was, but to my infinite dismay they had covered it with oil.

Early in the year 1793—February I think—the war commenced with France, and I believe the first armed vessel captured was by the Juno ;¹ it was a French cutter privateer of twelve guns, called the Enterprise, having a very active, stout set of insolent Republicans, about seventy in number, for a crew, each wearing a well-looking red cap, the top and tassel of which hung down gracefully upon the left shoulder, having within it stout pieces of wire of different lengths, and the skull part of the cap was lined with tin, so contrived as to be capable of giving protection from the cut of a sabre, and yet not inconveniently heavy, or unpleasant to wear ; but with all this preparation for assault, and a certain portion of Dutch courage picked up to welcome the first sight of an English ship, these swaggering republicans showed the utmost alacrity in striking their tri-coloured flag on receiving a hint to do so by a shot from the Juno passing over the privateer.

It came out in conversation with these fellows that on leaving France they had made the most un-

¹ B. Martin was mistaken. The first armed vessel was Le Patriote, captured by the Childers sloop near Gravelines, February 15, 1793 ; second was L'Elizabeth, captured by the Iphigenia on the 16th ; and the third, L'Entreprenant, taken by the Juno on the 17th.—Steel, *Naval Chronology of the War*.

qualified protestation to conquer or die, whatever they might chance to fall in with ; and perhaps the rashness of this promise never occurred to them until they found themselves as prisoners, not as conquerors, on the quarter-deck of the Juno. And then the sort of clamour they set up, the officers reproaching the men, and the men, with still greater acrimony, blaming the cowardice of the officers ; they vowed, if they could but get back to the privateer, they would answer for carrying the Juno by boarding, and gave us to understand that we were very lucky in not being exposed to the threatened effect of these sort of second thoughts.

On arriving at Spithead I had the happiness to learn by a letter from my father, who then held the office of comptroller of the navy, that an arrangement was under consideration for promoting me to the rank of commander, not on account of the capture of the Enterprise, or on any other account than the good name, interest, and services of my father. I can feel at this moment the delight with which I received this intelligence, and at the same time the consciousness I had of the obligation brought upon me, by such early advancement, to leave nothing undone in the discharge of my duty, so that those through whose kind patronage I was promoted should have nothing to regret as far as my personal conduct might be concerned.

The plan was that I should be appointed to the Nautilus, a miserable old sloop of war, and proceed to the West Indies under Sir J. Jervis ; but as I had been in the habit of seeing the Tisiphone a good deal at sea, and to witness her fast sailing, I had a great desire to commence my career as captain in the command of that sloop, built originally as a fire-ship, but afterwards armed with fourteen 18-pounder carronades and four long 6-pounders. I there-

fore wrote to my father to say I would gladly wait some weeks longer for promotion if there was a chance of the *Tisiphone* being vacant, as was expected by the promotion of Captain A. Hunt. The answer was that my wishes would be complied with, and that Lord H. Paulet was consequently appointed to the *Nautilus*, and it so turned out that, besides being gratified with the command of a fast-sailing ship, I was made a post-captain before Lord Henry, so that I had done well in this instance. But I always think it is best to take what the chance of the service presents, rather than cut and contrive for oneself; by doing so we avoid all self-reproach under disappointment; and how true it is that we never know whether we go too fast or too slow.¹

The *Tisiphone* being intended to go to the Mediterranean with Lord Hood, it was proposed at first that I should be appointed first lieutenant of the *Victory*, his lordship's flag-ship; but subsequently this was thought a troublesome and unnecessary arrangement, and it was therefore decided on the day the fleet sailed to make Hunt post into the *Amphitrite*, and to give me the *Tisiphone*, and I went direct from being third lieutenant of the *Juno* to the command of the sloop;² and the first order I ever received was to

¹ From personal experience I cannot too strongly endorse Byam Martin's opinion.

² Undoubtedly a gross job, but one that proved very beneficial to the public service. Hannay, in his *Rodney* (p. 10), aptly says that 'the system or no system which allowed the rapid rise of Anson, Hawke, Saunders, Pocock, Rodney, the Hoods, Howe, Collingwood and Nelson, can dare to be judged by its fruits. Could the most uniform organisation, the most careful avoidance of favouritism and jobbery, have done better for us?' But it would not answer in the present day. Even at that time those who attained a captain's rank by selection were most tenacious of their seniority after it. Burrows in his *Life of Hawke* mentions that Pocock was going to resign his commission because Sir C.

discharge the present Sir T. Hardy, then a midshipman on board the *Tisiphone*, to the *Amphitrite*.

I have no memorandum of the number of ships which sailed from Spithead the day on which I was promoted, but it presented perhaps the most extraordinary sight ever witnessed upon the seas. Lord Howe had the chief command, and the ships of war and merchant vessels destined for the different quarters of the globe sailed each in their separate division, stationed on either side of Lord Howe's fleet, and in this way the trade continued to have the protection of the Channel fleet full fifty leagues to the westward of Ushant, when the signal was made to part company, each fleet to take its proper course. The number of ships thus assembled amounted to several hundred sail.

In crossing the Bay of Biscay our fleet under Lord Hood were all very much out in their longitude, owing (but why I know not) to some indraught into the bay.¹ We had not advanced far on our voyage when one fine morning the signal was made for the *Agamemnon*, Captain H. Nelson (afterwards Lord Nelson), to chase to the south-east, he having made the signal for a strange sail in that quarter; and afterwards, as his distance from the fleet increased, I was sent to repeat signals between the *Agamemnon* and the admiral. Presently the signal was passed on to the admiral for 'three strange ships in the same quarter;' but the *Agamemnon* had got so far distant before the *Tisiphone* was made

Saunders, his junior, was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty—a purely civil appointment—had not Hawke, who was senior to both, dissuaded him. I remember an officer once saying he ought to have had an appointment because he was senior to the one who got it. My answer was that, luckily for us, seniority was not the rule of the navy; we were fortune's favourites.

¹ Which has caused the loss of many ships. The case of the *Serpent*, in 1890, is still fresh in our memories.

to repeat signals that it was no easy matter to make out her flags, and still less for the admiral to make out ours, as we also were far distant from the admiral ; besides which the short masts of a sloop do not afford a height sufficient to show the flags well, and consequently the shade of the sails rendered it most difficult to make them out, though everything was done to make the flags distinct, by lowering the royal and topgallant sail, and we were the more earnest about this when we repeated the signal that the strangers were ships of war and an enemy. The strangers were still at a great distance from the Agamemnon, and steering away for the coast of France, so that the chasing them would probably have been in vain, though Captain Nelson said he was gaining upon them fast when the signal for recall was made, over and over [again] repeated to him, with guns to make it the more peremptory : at length he reluctantly obeyed. It was night before either of the ships rejoined the fleet ; and there being some doubt about the signals, and the real history of the strange ships, my signal was made next morning to go on board the Victory, when I was questioned about the signals, and a note having been taken of the different numbers I had repeated, the signal was made for Captain Nelson, when to my joy I found we had correctly repeated all his signals, and I left the admiral with a full impression that [he was] disappointed at the escape of the French frigates, as they undoubtedly were.¹

After doubling Cape St. Vincent and drawing

¹ This was a squadron of French frigates, and there was a general feeling of regret that the pursuit of them had not been allowed by the admiral.—T. B. M. I can find no trace of this in either Nelson's or Byam Martin's journal, or in the log of the Victory, Agamemnon, or Tisiphone, although there is of the episode mentioned in the succeeding paragraph—omitting the best.

near the Gut of Gibraltar, we were met by a fresh easterly wind, and as there was no hope of making any progress with the fleet until there should be a change, and Lord Hood being anxious to send to Gibraltar some instructions calculated to prevent delay whenever he did arrive, my signal was made to attend on board the Victory, when I was told of his lordship's great anxiety upon this subject, he at the same time observing to Sir Hyde Parker, who was captain of the fleet, that if any ship could beat through against an easterly wind it was the *Tisiphone*, and by way of further encouragement, after thus touching my pride so sensibly, he turned to Sir H. Parker and said, 'Sir Hyde, I will bet you half-a-crown that Captain Martin will beat through in spite of all that is said about the current.' This was quite enough, so off I went, determined to do all that canvas could effect, and having made all the sail the ship could bear in working up, we had gained very considerably to windward of the fleet when the breeze which had been very strong increased to a gale. Still I persevered in carrying sail to the very utmost throughout the night, but being obliged so frequently to wear, we lost ground considerably during the night, but to my comfort the fleet had lost still more, and when the weather became better we had smoother water than the fleet and consequently made good progress, so that I reached Gibraltar some hours before the fleet came pelting into the bay with a fair wind.

Lord Hood,¹ with his accustomed energy, kept everybody on the full stretch of exertion in getting

¹ Lord Hood was then sixty-nine, and, as described by Nelson, 'the best officer, take him altogether, that England has to boast of; equally great in all situations which an admiral can be placed in.' Energy of mind sometimes compensates for advancing years.

the ships ready for sea, which being accomplished in three days, we proceeded with a favourable wind ; but in the morning we sailed I had been put under the orders of Captain Lumsdaine, of the Isis, who had also the Mermaid frigate, Captain John Trigge, placed under his command, and a ship laden with presents for the Bey of Tripoli. Captain Lumsdaine was likewise charged with a despatch for the consul at Tunis.

Previous to our leaving Gibraltar my signal was made to attend on board the Victory, where I met Captain Lumsdaine, who had also been called on board by signal, and Lord Hood on delivering his orders to Captain Lumsdaine told him the service he was going upon was one of importance, and he had therefore purposely confided it to an officer in whom he could so entirely rely. I remember as we came away from the Victory this expression puzzled us exceedingly ; it was very pleasant to hear, but we could not imagine anything in appearance less interesting than our prospects, or in what its importance consisted ; and it was not until the end of our cruise that we were let into the secret, by being told that we had not obeyed his lordship's orders, and that a court-martial awaited our arrival at Toulon, of which place the admiral had obtained possession during our absence.

When Lord Hood despatched Captain Lumsdaine on this service he had obtained certain information that a very considerable French squadron was then at Tunis ; but not one syllable escaped to give Captain Lumsdaine the slightest idea of the hornets' nest into which we were blindly to run ; though the expression the importance of the service, and the sort of emphasis with which the admiral spoke of his confidence in Captain Lumsdaine, often came across our minds as seeming to imply something

more than usual, and yet it was always a puzzle to imagine what it could all mean.

We had a beautiful passage up the Mediterranean coasting along the African shore, and the weather so continually fine that we lived almost in daily communication, and took it turn and turn about to dine with each other, which was a very agreeable contrast with the cruise I had in the *Juno* throughout the preceding winter. Captain Lumsdaine, with whom I had the pleasure to serve afterwards for a very considerable time, was a man of rough manner but an amiable mind and a perfect seaman—perhaps few better in the service—so that it was no small advantage for a young captain to fall under such an officer, and his ship was in better order and better manned than any other in the fleet; but he was at first, poor fellow, a good deal in the dumps; for immediately before this, on his way from England, he fell in with a French privateer of 46 guns, 18-pounders, and the *Isis* having lost her foremast, bowsprit, and main topmast in the action, the Frenchman, although much damaged, contrived to hobble off, and got away in spite of great exertions on the part of Lumsdaine to close again. In this action poor Bennet, the first lieutenant, was severely wounded, and was a cripple for the remainder of his life; he was an excellent and much-respected officer, and died the senior captain of the navy.

It was on board the *Isis* that I first became acquainted with the present General Sir Willoughby Gordon, then a subaltern in the 66th regiment; he has since run a most prosperous course in his profession, and, having married Bennet's sister, became connected with some of the first families in the kingdom and possessed of a very considerable fortune by his wife, who, I believe, divided Bennet's large property with one other sister, which, together

with his salary for many years as quartermaster-general and colonel of [the 23rd] regiment, and the grant of a house at Chelsea for a long term of years, have proved sources of wealth which, under the fostering care of a frugal, or I might say a penurious, habit of living has lifted my friend the subaltern from the bare pay of that rank to be a man of several thousands of pounds a year. This is one of the many instances I have known of large fortunes created by excessive economy, or in other words living in poverty in order to die rich.

Sir Willoughby is the son of a Captain Francis Grant Gordon, who died a superannuated captain in the navy ; and it is greatly to his own credit that Sir Willoughby has attained to the highest rank in his profession, by self-acquired information in a great degree, and a constant persevering habit of reading and writing, so that he qualified himself for anything which good fortune might chance to throw in his way ; and this occurred at no distant period, for his acquirements introduced him to the Duke of Kent, to whose staff at Halifax he was appointed secretary ; and his readiness in the discharge of this duty led to a similar appointment under the Duke of York, and to his permanency, I may almost say, in office at the Horse Guards.¹

Sir Willoughby came on board the *Tisiphone* to my great delight when I separated from the *Isis* with despatches for the admiral, and we struck up an intimacy which led to a scheme for travelling together through England, Ireland, Scotland, and

¹ Doubtless Gordon's career was considered luck, but it is evident that he had trained himself for any piece of luck that might fall in his way ; others not having done so were not qualified for that piece of good fortune. A lesson not to neglect qualifying for the chance should it occur ; 'it may be to-day, a week or a year hence, or never,' as Nelson observed.

the Continent, believing, as we did at that time, that the war would be of short continuance ; and although our dreams were never realised, it was a great amusement, at the time, to be drawing up our plans which were beautifully matured by the time we reached Leghorn in quest of Lord Hood, who we there first heard had possession of Toulon ; and forgetting at once all the projects for such an agreeable tour, we were at once absorbed in a thousand conjectures as to the cause and probable consequences of so extraordinary an event, and it may be imagined with what anxiety we hastened to the scene of battle at Toulon. Here Gordon was so fortunate as to find some military friend who was glad to have the benefit of his services on shore ; while I had the disagreeable task of proceeding to Gibraltar with a Frenchman, the chief of the civil department of the navy, a hot-headed republican, as a prisoner, and from that time I never met Sir W. Gordon until I came to London in December 1815 as comptroller of the navy, and found him the quartermaster-general of the army ; but we exchanged a letter now and then for a time.

I remember when on board the *Tisiphone*, Sir Willoughby, seeing but a dreary prospect before him in the army, used to regret that the navy was not his profession ; as it turns out it is better for him as it is.

Our employment at Tripoli was rendered interesting from the place being besieged by the bashaw's son, of which an account written with great spirit may be found in Miss Tully's 'Ten Years' Residence.' The constant firing at each other was truly a wasteful expenditure of powder, and our ships (though anchored wide of the line of fire) were just in as much danger of being hit as the batteries opposed to each other.

On board the ship with the presents was the new consul, Mr. Lucas, who was to supersede Mr. Tully, and in consequence of some former want of respect on the part of the bashaw, Captain Lumsdaine was to take care that the new consul was received with proper attention as his Majesty's representative; but the bashaw seemed unwilling to condescend so much as to receive the consul unless the Christian dog approached with his shoes off. He however soon changed his note on finding that if he hesitated to receive the consul with the utmost respect and in his shoes, we should at once leave the port with the two consuls and the ship with the presents; the commodore was consequently very speedily informed of the bashaw's changed disposition, and of his desire to receive the consul, and the captains of the ships, with every demonstration of respect to the representative of his dear friend the King of England. The next day was appointed for this ceremony, and we made a very good show with our roast beef coats, and a train of officers from each ship, we (the captains) advancing towards the bashaw with the consul between us, and I began to think our reception much too cordial when I saw the bashaw kiss old Lumsdaine, which seemed so ridiculous from the stiff and astonished way in which he took it, that for the life of me I could not resist laughing, which at once upset the whole gravity of the ceremony; for the bashaw and his ministers joined in the laugh, while my commodore (according to a way he had) stuck his fists into his sides with his elbows spread out, and looking at me, never altered a muscle of his countenance until he saw the bashaw pay me off for my merriment by a kiss on both sides, which greatly amused Lumsdaine, who supposed at first that this mark of affectionate attention was to be confined to himself.

In a few days we saw several vessels bearing down upon Tripoli, which proved to be a Turk deputed by the Grand Signor to dethrone the bashaw. My signal was made to go out and reconnoitre, for the headmost ship had a large French flag flying at her mast-head, and I gave much offence to the Turk by firing a shot across his bows to make him bring to, but he waited a repetition of it before there was the least indication of compliance. This circumstance brought us under suspicion of being favourable to the reigning bashaw, but our perfect neutrality and indifference was soon seen, and before I regained the anchorage the old bashaw had abdicated and gone to an island, rather than attempt resistance to one he knew to be delegated by the Sultan to assume the government ; so that the new man found himself in full power without an effort at resistance.

The day following his proclaimed authority we went to court and were received with a degree of ease and grace which quite astonished me ; he was a particularly well-looking person, and reminded me of the present Lord Chatham in his younger days.

The siege was continued I believe against the new bashaw by the son of the late man, who had been before engaged for some time in the all-righteous employment of fighting against his father, after having killed his eldest brother. It was while these operations were going on that I foolishly went out one day beyond the lines, accompanied by Lieutenant Brace (now Admiral Brace¹) beyond the reach of the guns from the town and the ships ; some half-dozen Arabs came full gallop towards us sword in hand, and making such a flourish as to give us no very agreeable anticipation as to their intentions ; as for retreat from the swift horse of

¹ Died as Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Brace, commander-in-chief at the Nore, in 1843.

the Arab it was quite out of the question. I therefore at once decided to await their coming, and as they approached to pull off our hats, trusting that our uniform coats would be sufficient evidence of our neutral and friendly character ; it was, however, a nervous sort of thing to await the charge they were making upon us, for until the horses almost touched us they continued at full speed, and the way they at once stopped was astonishing to see, and dreadful for the poor horses to feel. After a little talk these fellows had together—a sort of council of war—they eyed us very close, and we, pointing to our uniforms, bowed and began to walk leisurely about, whereupon the horsemen wheeled round and took their leave with as much speed as they had advanced, while we, conscious of having done a very silly thing, lost no time in getting back to the town, and thence as speedily as we could to the ships.

I must now state that, on arriving at Toulon, the mystery which seemed to attend Lord Hood's way of delivering Captain Lumsdaine's orders was completely unravelled, and that, too, in a manner to show the disagreeable position in which I was placed in consequence of the erroneous view his lordship had taken of my conduct, acting under the immediate eye of my superior officer.

I have before said that Captain Lumsdaine was charged with a despatch for his Majesty's consul at Tunis, which he was to make over to me when within three days' sail of the port in order that I might deliver it, and rejoin him as he passed to the eastward with the Mermaid and transport. All this was strictly complied with ; but, as the wind was fresh from the westward, I did not get so much ahead the second day as to prevent our seeing the three ships from the main-top, and we had scarcely

lost sight of them when a strange sail was discovered right ahead on a wind. As we neared her it was evident she was a French ship of war of the size of a large corvette or small frigate, and having a just confidence in my own crew, I thought a commander wishing for a post commission would ill deserve one if he did not close with the stranger and try and settle matters before the ships astern came in sight. The Frenchman loitered awhile as if quite willing to meet us, and it was not until we had neared the enemy to the distance of about three miles that he made sail in shore, steering direct for Port Farina, and which unluckily was not sufficiently distant to enable us to close before he anchored under a small fort, just as we were treading upon his heels, for we so outsailed the Frenchman that another mile of chase would have put us alongside of him before he could have any claim to neutral protection. In the excitement of our people and the vexation of being so near the ship when she anchored, I was greatly apprehensive lest a gun might be imprudently fired by some keen captain of a gun, who might think it no business of his to study the laws of neutrality. I therefore made the officers and midshipmen spread themselves along the deck to guard against the risk of being the first to offer an insult to a State to which our fleet had to look for fresh supplies; in this way we passed close under the Frenchman's stern so as almost to touch him, in the hope that a conviction of the inferior force of the Tisiphone might shame him from under his neutral protection; but not so, the sails were furled and a spring put upon the cable for the better defence of his ship in case we should violate the neutrality of the port.

So circumstanced I stood out to sea, knowing that the strong gale which was then blowing would

very soon enable me to introduce my friend under the fort to the commodore ; and having so done, I was ordered to proceed with the despatch for Tunis, and consult the consul as to the disposition of the bey towards England, and the propriety or otherwise of meddling with the Frenchman.

It was blowing so hard at this time that when I hauled out to meet the Isis it was as much as we could do to carry one reef out of the topsails, so that when ordered to bear away for Tunis the ship must have been going at least eleven knots an hour, and at this rate rounded Cape Carthage ; and as the bay opened, lo and behold, there was a ship of the line (afterwards my own ship the *Implacable*),¹ and twelve other French ships of war at anchor.

I lost not a moment in shortening sail, and the wind had so much increased that the little ship when hauled close up, crabbed² along under close-reefed topsails, with the signal flying for an enemy, and to speak with the commodore, who soon joined and proceeded himself, with the *Mermaid* and *Tisiphone*, to make a complete reconnoitring, and having so done, he sent the *Mermaid* away with a letter to Lord Hood giving an account of the

¹ Byam Martin was mistaken in this, deceived, possibly, by the slight similarity of name. The ship at Tunis was the *Duquesne*, 74, which, having been sent the previous year into the Levant, escaped the destruction which fell on so many of her friends at Toulon, and among others on the *Duguay Trouin*. A new *Duguay Trouin*, built in one of the western ports, joined *Villeneuve* at Ferrol in July 1805, fought at Trafalgar, and, having escaped from there, was captured by Sir Richard Strachan on 4 November. This was the ship that became the *Implacable*, and was commanded by B. Martin in the Baltic (cf. vol. ii. *passim*). She is still (1902) in existence as a unit of the Lion training establishment in Hamoaze.

² *Sic* ; it is a term I have never heard, but Smyth (*Sailors' Word-Book*) explains it as making much leeway, going sideways, like a crab.

French squadron; and when night came on we bore up and pursued our course to Tripoli unobserved by the enemy, who it seemed, from intelligence we afterwards received, was more alarmed than we were, taking us for the advanced squadron of the English fleet, and they consequently hauled as close in shore as they could, and threw up defences.

Of the force and position of this squadron Lord Hood had obtained accurate information before Captain Lumsdaine received his orders, but not a word escaped him as to the conduct we were to pursue; so that while my commodore was rubbing his fingers with delight at his happy escape and safe arrival at Tripoli with the ship full of presents, the admiral was taking a very different view of the business; for on Captain Lumsdaine's letter being delivered to his lordship by Captain Trigge, his dissatisfaction was expressed with much warmth, and a declaration that he would try Captain Lumsdaine and myself by a court-martial for disobedience of orders, and thereby disappointing his plans, to the great injury of the public service.

This very disagreeable manifestation of the admiral's temper in regard to this matter, however harsh and unjust, was no joke to one very anxiously looking for a post commission; and the unpleasant circumstance was first made known to me by Captain Trigge, who was at Leghorn when I arrived there in quest of the admiral.

I learnt enough to make me ponder well every circumstance that occurred, so that I might be prepared to give Lord Hood a frank and full statement in vindication of my conduct, which I was convinced he would admit to be irreproachable, if he would only give me a patient hearing for five minutes; and with this confidence in the propriety of my proceed-

ings, I made my appearance on board the Victory at Toulon. It was not long before his lordship opened upon the subject, and expressed his particular regret that a court-martial was so indispensably necessary, as he had intended to have made me a post-captain, instead of placing in such danger the rank I already held. This to be sure was a most uncomfortable reverse of the position he designed for me ; but I took courage, and said that if he would allow me to say a very few words I felt convinced I should be reinstated in his lordship's good opinion. 'A court-martial, sir,' said he, 'will hear all that you have to say, and judge accordingly ; it is a very awkward and unpleasant circumstance, but I owe it to myself ; and have informed the Admiralty that the disappointment of my plans was attributable to Captain Lumsdaine and you, and that both of you should be brought to account for it. I had fully calculated that the French admiral would, in the rashness of their republican feelings, have captured the Tisiphone—at any rate it was my plan to put the temptation in his way ; and if the bait had taken I was prepared at once to make a general sweep of the French ships of war out of every neutral port.'

Here, then, the cat was out of the bag, and for the first time I was made aware of the admiral's well-laid plan, which if, with a just confidence in Captain Lumsdaine's known steadiness of character and propriety of feeling in all professional matters, he had made the subject of a secret and confidential order to him, or intimated in any way, his lordship would have had no reason to complain of disobedience ; but Captain Lumsdaine knew nothing of this large French squadron until I had almost run on board them on hauling round Cape Carthage. It was a cruel situation to place an officer in, when such a

ruse was intended ; but Lord Hood, in his complimentary expressions on delivering to Captain Lumsdaine his orders, thought enough was done to stimulate my commodore to a compliance with those orders under any circumstances ; in fact, the admiral believed that an officer charged with despatches for a neutral port would not be deterred from going in although an enemy might be previously at anchor ; and I am not prepared to say that anything in the ordinary course of things should prevent a captain going into such a port ; but undoubtedly particular circumstances may arise, as in this case, to induce an officer to depart from the strict letter of his instructions, without the imputation of an unsound judgment ; but the censure implied by a public charge of disobedience by a commander-in-chief does seem in the case alluded to to be severe in the extreme ; but Lord Hood said he owed it to his own justification to do so. I ventured to assure Lord Hood that Captain Lumsdaine would be prepared to state his reasons for the course of conduct he had adopted, for I knew the pain it had given him to be placed in a situation to exercise his own discretion in the execution of such an order, and that having a valuable ship under convoy, and so large a French squadron in possession of the anchorage at Tunis, he would be greatly mortified to find he had come to a decision so contrary to his lordship's wishes.

With respect to myself, I stated that I stood as free from the imputed disobedience as I did from the credit of having been with his lordship on the happy occasion of his taking possession of the important port we were then in, and my reason for saying so was that I was acting in the immediate presence of a senior officer whose orders I was to obey, and that he had not thought proper to order

me into Tunis. 'Well, well,' said Lord Hood, 'I think you give me sufficient reason to admit that you are not accountable for the disobedience, but as I shall try Captain Lumsdaine on his arrival, I cannot do anything about you until the court-martial is over; you may therefore proceed to Gibraltar and hasten back.' The end of this long story is that Lumsdaine was tried by a full court-martial¹ on board the Britannia, Lord Hotham the president, and most fully justified and acquitted of the charge of any wilful or improper disobedience;² and I was immediately made post (5 November, 1793) into the Modeste, a French frigate of 36 guns, just captured at Genoa, by Admiral Gell.

One word more upon this subject. Obedience in all military and naval operations is a matter of such vital importance that the occasion can but very rarely occur to justify any departure from orders; and although in this instance much may be said, and a court-martial hath justified the conduct of my excellent and much-respected friend, I must say that on the whole it would have been better to have persisted in sending the Tisiphone into the neutral port as directed by Lord Hood, and to have proceeded himself with the Mermaid

¹ See Appendix B.

² Hood's little plan for sweeping the Mediterranean is, perhaps, unique; but Napoleon repeatedly adopted a similar one for conveying false intelligence to the enemy. Thus in May 1804 he wrote to Latouche Tréville: 'Vous pourriez écrire au commissaire de marine en Corse, pour lui ordonner de vous envoyer tous les pilotes de cette île qui auraient été employés dans l'expédition d'Egypte, et vous feriez partir le bateau porteur de votre dépêche dans les circonstances telles qu'il ne pût éviter de tomber au pouvoir de l'ennemi' (Desbrière, *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques*, tom. iv. p. 5); and a very well-known adventure of Brigadier Gerard, as described by Sir Conan Doyle, may be taken as typical of his practice on shore.

and transport to Tripoli after dark, with orders for me to follow without delay if not pursued by the enemy ; and the next day the *Mermaid* might have been sent away to the admiral. But, if pursued in violation of the rules of neutrality, it would have been proper, no doubt, that I could have pushed away to the admiral with an account of any such proceedings. I have no doubt the *Tisiphone* was selected for this service on account of her fast sailing.

The plot was well conceived by Lord Hood, but it does seem strange, marvellously strange, that its success was not insured by letting Captain Lumsdaine into the secret, instead of taking the chance of what might be his decision (or my decision if, as intended, I had been separated from Captain Lumsdaine) upon first discovering so superior a force of the enemy.

With a transport under convoy, and the Tunis service appearing to be one of a more incidental character than the other, it can be no wonder that, on the first surprise, an officer should think how he could best blind the enemy as to his proceedings, and then push on to the accomplishment of what to all appearance was the greater, though in truth the lesser, object. Whether I was consulted at the time I do not now recollect after a lapse of forty years ; but from the cordiality and confidence with which my official communication with Captain Lumsdaine was kept up, I have no doubt that he did make me acquainted with his orders, nor have I any doubt (if he did do so) that I entertained an opinion in concurrence with his, in the decision he came to. I am therefore implicated in any censure which this after-thought of mine may seem to imply, and which I only now put forward as the result of reflection, and a conviction that it would

be the course I should have adopted after more matured and practical consideration of the great governing principle and chief security in all military and naval operations ; and although I do not wish to introduce into the articles of war the notion entertained by my captain, as alluded to in a former part of these papers—that no midshipman should presume to think—yet I would have officers think how they can best execute orders, and guard themselves cautiously against permitting the intrusion of any idea of disobeying or substituting their own notions in opposition to the superior officer, who ought to have credit for a full consideration of all circumstances. Cases however do arise when an officer's discretion may with propriety be exercised, but they are very, very rare. Lord Nelson secured the victory on the 14th of February 1797,¹ by disobeying Lord St. Vincent's signal, and his conduct was approved and applauded ; but suppose a person less intelligent, and less sagacious to attempt the same thing, and not be so happy in the execution of such a manœuvre, how in an instant the admiral's plans might be frustrated, and the credit of the country sacrificed.

It was with the same spirit, and with Nelson's feelings, that Captain Temple West, in Admiral Mathews's battle in 1744, broke through the French line without signal, and was dismissed from the service by a court-martial for so doing ; it is true his gallantry was admired, and he was shortly reinstated in his rank, and was always an officer of conspicuous merit, but he met with a just rebuke for his temerity ;²

¹ Battle of Cape St. Vincent.

² Byam Martin's illustration of the point he is considering is, in reality, no illustration, for West's conduct in the battle and the charge on which he was tried and cashiered were the very opposite of what are here described.

and what would become of all system and combination of action if every captain was to be at liberty to adopt his own opinion instead of that of the admiral?¹

In the battle of the 1st of June, 1794, when the Queen, surrounded by the French ships and sustaining a most terrific and unequal contest, the signal happened to be made by Lord Howe to form a line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, and the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Graves, was under all sail for that purpose, when Captain Nicholls, who was a great snuff-taker, pointed out to the admiral the perilous state of the Queen, and asked to go down to her succour. Admiral Graves said 'No, the commander-in-chief has made the signal to form the line, and we must obey it.' 'But,' said Captain Nicholls, 'then the Queen will be sacrificed.' 'I cannot help it,' replied the admiral, 'we must obey the signal.' Nicholls, who had an opinion of his own and could express it when he pleased, told the admiral it was his duty to go down and relieve a friend in distress, but still finding such language was in vain, he adopted a more persuasive way, and said, 'Only let us make a show of going down.' 'Well, well, you might do that,' said the admiral, and having his attention drawn to some other object, he presently looked round and found the ship plunging into the thick of the enemy, and called out to Captain Nicholls, 'What are you about?' 'Take a pinch of snuff, Admiral,' was the captain's reply. The consequence was that the Queen was saved; and at any rate, under such circumstances it was the duty of the Royal Sovereign to go down to the Queen in spite of the signal for the line.²

¹ An opinion in which I most entirely concur; and more particularly does it apply when the admiral is present.

² It was on 29 May, not 1 June, that the Royal Sovereign bore

The great cause of the Duke of Wellington's entire confidence in Lord Hill was that he never failed to act strictly according to the letter of his instructions ; it was his implicit, prompt, and fixed adherence to the letter of his instructions that enabled the duke to calculate with certainty upon the exact position of Lord Hill's division of the army. Other generals would sometimes take the liberty to think for themselves, perhaps, most frequently with a successful result, but always at the risk of disappointing the operations of the commander-in-chief, in which the combined movements of the army are arranged with a view to mutual support. Circumstances however may arise that would render a disobedience necessary, and of which no one can judge but the person who meets the unexpected occurrence which calls for quick decision.

In point of date the reminiscences break off here, to begin again after B. Martin's retirement from the comptrollership (vol. iii., p. 235). In reality the later part seems to have been written first, and more consecutively : this, the earlier part, is more fragmentary. The intervening part of Byam Martin's career is told in the correspondence, which has the superior merit of being strictly contemporary, and thus not subject to the lapses which occur every now and then in the reminiscences.

up to the relief of the Queen (*Great Sea Fights*, vol. i. [N.R.S. vol. xvi], p. 59). The details, as related above, were presumably traditional, but Byam Martin may very probably have heard something of the story from Nicholls.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR
HENRY MARTIN¹*LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.*Victory, November 15th, 1782.²

Sir,—Though perfectly sensible of the obliging motives which would have induced you to take the trouble of coming off to Spithead, and happy in every opportunity to pay my compliments to you, I should have been much concerned if you had persevered in that resolution under circumstances which I am very sorry to learn from your favour of this morning have confined you so long to your house. My particular acknowledgments are due for the obliging interest you take in our good fortune: which indeed has been as great with respect to the short time we were only engaged in our material business within the Straits, as in regard to the accomplishment of our appointed commission. And I ought not on those accounts to complain of being rendered an invalid, in a greater degree these last five or six months, than I supposed myself to be, for some preceding years.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

¹ Resident Commissioner at Portsmouth 1780-90: in March 1790 appointed Comptroller of the Navy, and created a baronet 28 July, 1791; died 1 August, 1794.

² On his return from relieving Gibraltar.

P.S.—The defects of the ships would have been sent on shore this morning with my official letter if they had been timely made to me.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Porter's Lodge, 6th May, 1783.

Sir,—I was much concerned, on the receipt of your obliging letter yesterday, for the long continuance of your indisposition. The unseasonable coldness of the weather we have had these last three weeks I hope has been the chief cause of it ; and that the change in the state of the air we may daily expect will prove no less beneficial for your relief than it would be to our farmers in this country, who are threatened with the loss of all their expected produce for want of rain and warmer weather.

I shall be always happy in thinking that my views and conduct in my last situation¹ have appeared to merit the favourable sentiments you have the goodness to express ; and shall derive a more particular satisfaction from the event of my endeavours for the public service, when it affords me an opportunity to satisfy the sincere esteem and regard with which

I am, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

P.S.—I hear you have lately had a special visitation, to ascertain the doubts upon the proposed general use of copper sheathing some time since suggested.²

¹ Howe was first lord of the Admiralty from 28 January to 8 April, 1783. He returned to office in the following December.

² Copper sheathing for ships at sea had become general in our navy, during the American War ; but there were many who might have dubbed themselves 'experts,' who still doubted the advisability of sheathing ships in ordinary, and wrote most venomous

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Grafton Street, 30 December, 1783.

Sir,—I am extremely happy to learn from your favour of the 27th, which I only received late last night, that you have found so much benefit from the Bath waters; and, as far as my concurrence is necessary to it, I hope you will continue the use of them, while requisite for the perfect re-establishment of your health.

I am much obliged to you for your congratulations on my return to a situation which is not to be usefully occupied for the public service without assured permanency in my opinion; as well as talents in the application of its powers, which I cannot boast. I have only to say, at present, that I enter upon the duties of the office in the same ideas I have before expressed. But I am yet too confined in my prospect to foresee in what order of time they can severally be brought forward with due effect.

I cannot wish that you should have unnecessary fatigue in a journey to town on your return to Portsmouth, though were it otherwise your intention to pass through London I should with pleasure embrace that opportunity to assure you of the esteem and regard with which I am

Your most obedient, humble servant,
HOWE.

P.S.—I sincerely hope the ladies of your family partake with you in the comforts of established health.

pamphlets condemning the ignorance of the Admiralty as shown in not stripping the bottom of every ship as she was paid off. The idea was that the sheathing gave a quiet and peaceful shelter to the worm or the rot, allowing it to extend its ravages undisturbed and undiscovered.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Portsmouth, [16th September, 1784,] ¹ 8 o'clock [P.M.].

Sir,—I am extremely sorry for the cause of your confinement otherwise than as I may hope it may prove as beneficial in its consequences as you are encouraged to expect.

But I am particularly to desire you will not on any account think of coming here to-morrow. We propose being at the yard to-morrow morning by nine o'clock, to commence a general inspection of the storehouses, &c.; and to muster the yard on Saturday morning, if you see no objection to it. Upon this point, however, I shall have an opportunity to inquire your sentiments to-morrow when I have the pleasure of seeing you, if not inconvenient to you, at your own house. I am again to entreat you will allow me to see you there only; the officers of the yard attending us, is all that we shall have occasion for, until your state of health may admit of our having the benefit of your information on the purpose of our arrival here.

I flatter myself you will indulge me in the liberty of prescribing these bounds to the trouble we must necessarily give you on this occasion; by which you will most particularly oblige

Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

¹ The only inspection of Portsmouth Dockyard made in Howe's term of office was on Friday and Saturday, 17 and 18 September, 1784. The Admiralty Minute-Book (vol. xcix.) shows that on Saturday, 18th, three members of the Board had one meeting in London, whilst Lord Howe and two others had another at Portsmouth.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Portsmouth, Thursday, half-past 10.¹

Sir,—I cannot consent on any account to your attendance upon us round the yard. We shall have full occasion for your assistance on the subject of the regulations now in force when it becomes seasonable to enter upon that investigation. I will therefore trouble you no further at present, but to add that we have had notice of Admiral Montagu's² intentions to be here with the captains to-morrow morning at nine o'clock. We shall on that account be obliged to defer our arrival at the yard until ten o'clock.

I am, with great esteem and regard,
Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 4th January, 1785.

Sir,—Finding you are returned to Portsmouth, I hope you are able to inform me that your absence has been productive of all the advantages, both to Miss Martin and yourself, which were the object of your stay at Bath.

I would not trouble you at that time upon business which could be very well postponed, and therefore did not sooner mention the orders given for establishing the guard of the yards in the manner proposed, correspondent to the reduction of the private marines now confined to the proper peace establishment.

Finding we could not be justified in stopping

¹ Same day as the preceding, two and a half hours later.

² Admiral John Montagu, commander-in-chief.

suspicious persons out of our naval boundaries, we had no choice but to appoint the rounds to be performed within the dockyard ; and I flatter myself the habit of order and regularity which subsists at your port will excite emulation in the other yards, equally to avoid all enmities and idle disputes between the civil and military branches. Should individuals of either class grow negligent to the continuance of that good understanding, I trust that our mutual endeavours to correct such excesses will soon prove effectual for the purpose.

The marine officers on the guard being under your orders for the regulation of the times and manner that the rounds are to be performed, you will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements as you judge fit. And if you would have the present route and orders for the service of the guard boats altered, I beg you will acquaint us officially with the amendments you would recommend, in your correspondence with Mr. Stephens.¹

I am, with great esteem and regard, Sir,
Your ever faithful servant,
HOWE.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 27th January, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I have great pleasure in the success which has attended your arrangements for the care of the yard ; and when your system is established to your entire satisfaction I shall be glad to receive such more particular detail of your regulations as may be equally applicable to the other ports.

The misconduct of the warrant officers is a lamentable and perplexing evil, and I don't know

¹ Then secretary of the Admiralty.

how it is to be prevented ; unless some revision of the stores in their charge could be taken more frequently, to deter them from the practice of frauds, which could not then be concealed so easily.

I am, dear Sir,
Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 23 February, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I am favoured with your account of the search made at my request into the cellars of the infirmary ; and am glad to find there appears so little cause for the suspicions which had been suggested, to the discredit of those who conducted that branch of the marine service.

As your recommendation of a successor to Mr. Mitchell was founded upon report rather than your particular knowledge of the preference the person merited, I have with less scruple concurred in the nomination of Mr. Baily,¹ who in his voyage with Captain Cook had opportunity to join much practical information to his theoretical proficiency in astronomy and other branches of science necessary in the station to which he has been appointed.

I have desired him to give me his thoughts upon the plan of education now in use, after he has had sufficient time to form an opinion upon it, being rather inclined to think it might be made more simple and instructive. I shall be glad, at the same time, to receive your sentiments how far the alterations he proposes seem eligible, if you will

¹ To be headmaster of the Naval Academy. Cf. *ante*, p. 23.

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take the trouble to look into the scheme he is to prepare for our consideration.

I am with great regard, dear Sir,
Your most faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 14th September, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I have received your favour of the 10th, with the report on the qualifications of the several warrant officers that you have had the goodness to collect for me, enclosed. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken on that occasion. And the officers themselves will have their acknowledgments to make to you, for the advancement they may obtain in consequence of the communication so made of their pretensions.

I agree with you in thinking it would be proper for the commanders to lodge with the commissioner, at the port where their ships are paid off, their opinions of their warrant officers' services.¹ I should feel much satisfaction in having every well-authenticated testimony of the warrant officers' characters for my guidance in the farther notice they merit. But we see unfortunately, from the difference in the master attendants and superintending masters in the present case, how very difficult it is to acquire such satisfactory information.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear Sir,
Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

¹ Full reports of all officers are now lodged at the Admiralty.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Bath, 9 January, 1786.

Dear Sir,—The celebration of the Queen's birthday being deferred, I have been induced to prolong my stay here until the 18th inst., and have therefore received your favour of the 4th at this place.

I shall be very happy to be indulged with your sentiments on a comparative view of the estimates for 1765 and the present year. The ships building in merchant yards, works by task,¹ and expense of stores consequent of that change in the former system seem the chief causes for the increase of the latter, to us in town.

I cannot be answerable at this moment for the truth of my conjecture on the subject of your new house, which has afforded matter for comment, both in print and conversation repeatedly, for some time past, about town; but, if I am not much mistaken, no official authority exists for the supposition that the house was so planned for the accommodation of the King, or any of the royal family. When I came to the Board in 1783, the stated charge and plan settled by my predecessors was revised and reduced with his Majesty's approbation, in the proportion of about one-third. But on my return to the office in the following year, I found the first project had been resumed, and a considerable progress made in the work, the completing of which will cost nearly double of the estimated amount.

These being, I believe, the circumstances of the case, I am wholly unable to advise you, or to judge of the impression they will make in Parliament,

¹ Men being paid for the job, instead of by daily wages.

and of the conduct necessary to be adopted by the Admiralty when any proposition is urged in the House of the nature your friends have proposed. I make no doubt of hearing that the disbursements on this head will be questioned from some quarter of the House in the coming session, and am therefore the more earnest that you should not be induced to recede from any measures you would otherwise have adopted for your own convenience if we had not corresponded at all on this business.

I rejoice exceedingly in your persuasion of the Prince's¹ steadiness in the line of manly conduct he has adopted, so consonant to a situation that is worthy of his pursuits. One knows not how to convey the assurance to him, but I am convinced he need have no doubt of the satisfactory impression it will make on the King's mind. And though I cannot think there is any cause to suspect any instrument at work for so wicked a purpose, I am sure the means are in the Prince's own hands to frustrate the effect of every attempt that malice or ill-will could suggest to alienate the King's affections from his children.

I am, dear Sir,
Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

P.S.—No article can be inserted in the Estimates for furniture as you suggest, for the reason I have already mentioned.

Endorsed.—Respecting the new house for the Comptroller at Portsmouth and about Prince William.

¹ Prince William Henry.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY¹ TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Hebe, off Cowes, Jan. 11, 1786.

Dear Sir,—Since last Sunday we have not been at a great distance from each other, owing to the badness of the weather. This morning so great a swell fell into St. Helens, we thought it prudent to run down to this place, where we have received the melancholy account of the Halswell East Indiaman being lost Saturday last; all the passengers, including six ladies, Captain Pierce and his two daughters, were drowned; one officer and sixty seamen were saved. Last night I saw a frigate under jury-masts anchor at Spithead, and we are told that [an] East Indiaman went into the harbour this morning dismasted. Every hour we hear of more accidents, and have to be thankful for our being in during such dreadful weather. I think it blows harder now than it has done yet.

During my watches I frequently cast a longing look towards my worthy friends in the dockyard. I hope you will believe when I assure you I am not here with my consent, but would much rather be under your hospitable roof. I look forward with pleasure to the time when we shall meet next, and with still more so, when I shall command a guardship and then be able to devote more of my time to you. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Martin and the rest of the family, and that you will believe me to be,

Dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
WILLIAM.

¹ As to these letters from Prince William, see *ante*, p. 21.

COMMISSIONER MARTIN TO PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY.

[Not dated] 1786.

The letter your Royal Highness was pleased to honour me with from Spithead demands my most respectful and grateful acknowledgments. With a heart devoted to you, I trust you will do me the justice to believe that I feel most sensibly the noble, the honourable part you have acted by me and my dear child: could I have foreseen the attachment you have been pleased to honour her with, I should certainly have removed her for a time from my house, that both your Royal Highness and she might have avoided the difficulties and distresses which must necessarily be the consequence of it. She is, thank God, tolerably well; but blessed, Sir, as she is with a superior understanding, she has with a becoming fortitude guarded against the too tender impression a declaration so unexpected, and so much superior to what she could ever presume to raise her thoughts [to], might otherwise have made, and which, had your Royal Highness's station in life been more on a level with hers, she would naturally have felt, where every gratification of mind and person conspire to captivate the heart. Words, Sir, are unequal to express how much Mrs. Martin, myself and beloved child are interested in your honour, your welfare, your happiness; and it will afford us infinite consolation to be assured that the noble efforts you are making to subdue a passion that in the pursuit would have been attended with consequences fatal to your repose, as well as to that of the object of your affection, from the impossibility that it could ever meet with the sanction of your Royal Parents, are attended with success; and that

we may, at some future period, be permitted again to have the happiness of testifying in person our zealous attachment to your Royal Highness is the wish most near our hearts.

The profession of regard your Royal Highness is pleased to express for me and my family I feel with the most heartfelt satisfaction and gratitude ; that my children may prove worthy of your patronage and protection is my most ardent prayer, and if I should live, Sir, to see you happy as you deserve, and my boys under the protection of such a person, it would afford me inexpressible satisfaction. If I should be taken from them I trust, Sir, you will have the goodness still to patronise them and to recollect that you never had a more dutiful, affectionate, and faithful servant than

H. M.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 30 January, 1786.

Dear Sir,—I was preparing to reply to your letter upon the subject of the pain his Royal Highness Prince William expressed himself subject to, in consequence of the King's pleasure which I thought necessary to be taken on that occasion, when an official representation from Captain Thornbrough to the same effect rendered his Majesty's farther commands necessary concerning it. The arrival of his Royal Highness in the mean time has provided for the expedients I was to have recommended on the same account: to that I shall only add these assurances of the esteem with which I am

Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

*PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER
MARTIN.*

Godalming, Jan. 30th, 1786.

Dearest Friend,—All is well over, thank God. I shall be with you at breakfast to-morrow morning at ten, and then proceed to Plymouth, and from thence in another ship to America. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Martin, and say everything that is proper to the poor unfortunate Sarah.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
WILLIAM.

*PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER
MARTIN.*

Hebe, Jany. 31st, 1786.

I am this moment arrived on board in as good spirits as my unhappy situation will admit of. Forgive me I beg, dearest Sir, for the uneasiness I have caused in your worthy family, and believe me to be sincerely thankful for all the kindness you have shown me during the time I had the happiness of being in your family. My best wishes attend Mrs. Martin and all your worthy family. My heart bleeds for my poor unfortunate Sarah, whom God bless and give strength of mind to support this misfortune. Believe me to be for ever sincerely attached to every person that bears the name of Martin, but particularly to him I have the honour of writing to.

I must once more repeat—Dear Sarah! I feel for her more than I can express; she is an unfortunate and virtuous girl. God bless all your family, but I

cannot help expressing my particular feeling for the best of womankind.

I am
Your sincere and unfortunate friend,
W.

*CAPTAIN G. K. ELPHINSTONE¹ TO
COMMISSIONER MARTIN.*

[*Copy.*]

Hertford Street, February 3rd [1786].

Dear Sir,—It was my fixed intention to have written to you yesterday, but some very particular business and a late Drawing Room prevented me that pleasure, because it was to have told you that, on my return to the Queen's House, I had the honour of being with their Majesties a very long time, and of having much conversation, in the whole of which both expressed the fullest satisfaction of the conduct of your family, and lamented that any branch of theirs should have been the cause of disturbing for a moment its peace. They were delighted with the way in which things went off on our return, particularly with Miss S. Martin's proper behaviour, and in justice to Prince William, I believe they are in very good humour with him, and in all this I do believe them serious. His Majesty seemed anxious that every means should be taken to stop or prevent any circumstance coming to the ear of the world, and was quite pleased with my taking the blame of bringing Prince William up under pretence of seeing his sister and staying to the birthday.

I will trouble you to present my respects to Mrs. Martin and your daughter, assuring them of

¹ Afterwards Lord Keith.

my best regard and that I shall be proud to obey their commands.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your very sincere friend and humble servant,
G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

I shall write to Prince William.

*COMMISSIONER MARTIN TO CAPTAIN
ELPHINSTONE.*

[*Copy.*]

Dear Sir,—The very kind part you have taken in the late unfortunate event in my family demands my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments. His Royal Highness assured me that he stated fully to the King every circumstance he could recollect, and that his Majesty expressed himself fully satisfied with my conduct. The message you did me the honour to deliver from the King and Queen is an additional proof of it, but I must attribute that message to you, as arising from your favourable report of such circumstances as had come to your knowledge. I beg therefore to assure you that I feel myself particularly obliged, for although the Prince was pleased to give me from the King the strongest assurances of his approbation, yet the repetition of it through you is a great additional satisfaction, as it shows his Majesty was desirous that I should be satisfied on that head.

I have the happiness to tell you that my dear girl is as composed and well as it is possible to be under the idea that she has been the cause, though God knows the innocent one, of uneasiness to the Prince; she is blessed with an uncommon good understanding, and being at once struck with the impropriety of receiving the Prince's addresses, she never presumed to raise her thoughts to that

elevated situation he talked of, and, knowing the impossibility of its being accomplished, she, with a prudence and discretion superior to her years, guarded herself against the impression such a declaration might otherwise have made.

Mrs. Martin begs leave also to assure you that she is truly sensible of your kind attention, and joins me in grateful acknowledgment of it. I have the honour to be with great regard and esteem,

Sir,

Yours, &c.,

H. MARTIN.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Hebe, in Torbay, Feb. 6th [1786].

Dearest Sir,—We are thus far on our way to Plymouth. Our cruise has been full of events. We sailed, you may remember, on the Tuesday at noon. The next morning we found ourselves off Dunnose, and as it blew strong from the westward we bore up for St. Helens ; in the evening, when we were within a mile of the Ledge, the wind suddenly shifted to the NNW, and we immediately hauled our wind and began to beat down. In the course of the night it blew very hard, with a prodigious heavy head swell, so that at five in the morning we made the Casket lights : we directly wore ship, and I must say, to the credit of the ship's company, that the crew behaved with great coolness. In a heavy squall as we were standing off, the main yard gave way in the slings, and we found it badly sprung. The only thing we then had to do was to bear up for Guernsey, where we anchored on the Thursday at noon, and lay all the next day to repair our damages. We sailed again Saturday morning, and found it

necessary to take shelter here from the badness of the weather last night. We shall remain in Torbay till the wind shifts.

I hope a certain person is in good health and spirits; as for myself, my mind is at ease but far from being happy. I shall regret the dockyard as long as I live; the kindness and cordiality with which you received me, Sir, at all times calls upon me for my warmest thanks, and will make me feel the loss of such a friend; and when I come to consider the reason that made my leaving your hospitable roof necessary, it makes my heart bleed indeed. I once more beg your forgiveness, and hope you will believe that, had I foreseen the uneasiness I have brought upon that dear, amiable object of our wishes, I would have withdrawn myself long ago. I beg to be remembered to Mrs. Martin, and hope she will not have the worse opinion of me for what has unhappily passed. God knows I have suffered enough in my own mind, and do still. To the lovely girl, I leave it entirely to you, Sir, to say to her what you think proper. I love her from the bottom of my heart, and only wish I had been in that situation of life to have married her. My best wishes and prayers shall be always offered up to heaven for her welfare.

I once more beg your forgiveness, and hope you ever consider that I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate but unfortunate friend,
WILLIAM.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Hebe, off Plymouth Sound, Feb. 19th [1786].

Dear Sir,—Upon my arrival at Plymouth I found your first letter, and the morning we sailed

your second¹ came to hand. I am fully sensible of the friendship and regard with which you have always honoured me, and I hope to deserve a continuation of it. During my absence it will give me the greatest satisfaction to receive frequent accounts from you, my worthy Sir, and I shall never let an opportunity slip of writing to you. It must give me vast pleasure to find that my dearest Sarah can command herself so well. She has my most hearty wishes for her welfare at all times. I always knew her sentiments to be noble and that she could keep her mind under proper regulation. Few girls after the declaration I made to her would have behaved in the manner she has done. I both love and respect her. I find absence has increased my passion. What I feel on this unhappy subject is not to be expressed. Everything conspires to make me regret my most worthy friends at Portsmouth. Mr. Laforey² is a proud, imperious fellow, upon bad terms with everybody at Plymouth. Mrs. Laforey a proper West Indian, which I think the most disagreeable character. Mrs. Molloy is so ridiculously affected that she is universally ridiculed. As for Molloy I never liked him, and now do still less. I make their house a lodging-house, and am as little there as possible. I shall never again find the comfort I did in your hospitable house. The case is for ever altered. No more pleasant parties with the dear, dear girl. No Mrs. Martin to fight our battles, or make people happy by her presence. In short, the Hebe is now my favourite spot. I can there pass over in my mind the happy scenes, never to be repeated. Had I been your son you could not have treated me with greater tenderness. If ever I have

¹ No copies of these letters found.

² Commissioner of the Dockyard; died, Admiral Sir John Laforey, in 1796.

it in my power to be useful to your worthy family, it will be the greatest pleasure to be of service to them. Command me, I hope you will at all times, Sir, and I shall be happy to obey.

Nothing has as yet transpired of my future destination. The Pegasus is ordered to be commissioned; most probably she is intended to take me out to America. The sooner the better; Plymouth is by no means the place for me; nor indeed is America, particularly as Sawyer¹ is upon bad terms with the captains of his squadron. I am afraid I must go as lieutenant,² which will not be pleasant.

I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Martin; return her my sincere thanks for the civilities she showed me during the time I had the happiness of forming one of your worthy family. Do pray give my best wishes to the dear object of my heart, and tell her what you think proper. Love her I do, and hope to do so all my lifetime.

I am, dear Sir,
Your most affectionate friend,
WILLIAM.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

[*Copy.*]

Plymouth Sound, March 5th, 1786.

Dear Friend,—I have received yours of the 25th of last month, by which I am glad to find you still continue to show me the same marks of friendship. Long may it continue, dear Sir, and may I ever deserve your regard. It gives me satisfaction that our dear Sarah is gone with her brother to town, and that you and Mrs. Martin are by this

¹ See *ante*, pp. 51-2.

² See *ante*, p. 13.

time there. The amusements in London will I hope, together with the attention of her affectionate parents, alleviate the mind of this amiable girl. You, my worthy Sir, know my sentiments too well for me to attempt to conceal them. I have no reason, though, for this step ; honour has ever dictated my mind on her dear subject. I love and respect Sarah, and would make her my wife if possible. My best wishes and sincere regard attend the dearest girl for ever, as likewise for all your worthy family.

During your stay in town you would make me happy if you would sound Lord Howe concerning my future destination. I rely upon you, dear Sir, as a man that has ever acted to me as a father, therefore your instructions and advice I shall ever with pleasure follow. Don't imagine I mean to quit the navy ; my thoughts were never that way inclined. I may perhaps refuse to serve with particular officers, but to resign my commission if I lose all idea of promotion is not my intention. My father, I am sorry to say, has not acted kindly towards me ; however, no motive in the world shall ever make me quit the corps I have the honour of belonging to.

I was sorry to hear that you have been indisposed, dear Sir ; Oakes wrote me word so. I hope sincerely that your excursion to town may reinstate your health, and pray do not forget to go to Bath next November. All your friends agree that that place does you more good than any other ; and as one who wishes you well, let me intreat you to take care of your health, and therefore pray spend next fall there. Mrs. Martin does me honour by her friendly expressions. Tell her, I beg, how sensible I am of her attention both during the time I had the happiness of living with your worthy family and since that happy period is over.

I cannot conclude, dear Sir, without once more

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assuring you of the sincere regard I feel for you, and your worthy family. I must beg leave to be remembered to my dearest Sarah, and ever believe me,

Yours sincerely,
W.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Pegasus, in Hamoaze, 24th March, 1786.

Dear Sir,—Having received a letter from my friend George Oakes informing me with your wish to take your son Byam with me to sea, I have already given directions for his being sent round, and we will settle what money he is to be allowed; don't think that my not writing to you before was to prevent your sending him, but thought you would not approve of his being with me.

The constant attendance on the ship prevents me writing as often as I could wish. My best compliments to Mrs. Martin, and pray do remember me to my ever dear S.

I am yours sincerely,
WILLIAM.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Pegasus in Hamoaze, 2nd April, 1786.

Dear Sir,—As you mention in your letter that you intend being at Portsmouth by to-morrow, I wish you would regularly discharge your son from the Academy, and send him round in the first ship that comes here with money for the yard.

I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Martin
and all your worthy family, and am

Yours sincerely,
WILLIAM.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Buxton, 17th August, 1786.

Dear Sir,—Lieutenant Popham¹ appears to have
acquitted himself, as I understand, very successfully
in the discharge of his late commission. My absence
from town has prevented me from being more
particularly informed of the circumstances; but it
will be one of my first objects to inspect the papers
he has deposited at the office when I return.

Lady Howe is much obliged as well as I am for
the favour of your inquiries. I have not the satis-
faction to see that she has derived much benefit
from the use of these waters. And I cannot boast
much in the same way for myself.

I am with great regard, dear Sir,
Your faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 22 September, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I am sure it was not with less pain
to you than it would be to every man of breeding
and sensibility to refuse acquiescence for gratifying
a reasonable curiosity. But I apprehend the rule

¹ Lieutenant, afterwards Rear-Admiral Sir Home Riggs,
Popham had been sent out in the previous February to make an
astronomical survey of part of the coast of South Africa, from
which it would appear that the Admiralty was even then consider-
ing the advisability of establishing a port of call in that neighbour-
hood.

which has been invariably adhered to with respect to other foreigners of distinction will fully justify you (and I hope be so understood by the gentlemen themselves) in confining the licence for visiting the yard to the lady only, who had engaged his Royal Highness's interposition.

I fear the same excuses must necessarily be made to the Neapolitan officers, though it is wished that they should meet with every testimony of respect. For if an exception were made in their favour, more especially as it was thought inadmissible in respect to the Princesse de Lamballe's suite, we should be no longer held excusable in any of the former instances.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear Sir,
Your most faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.¹

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 6th October, 1787.

Dear Sir,—The circumstances attending the late promotion of flag officers, in which Sir Charles Middleton² was comprehended, not admitting of any proposition to you for obtaining the benefit of your assistance in a more responsible station, I did not trouble you farther on that subject in the present acknowledgment of your favour of the 4th instant,

¹ It would appear the Princesse de Lamballe was allowed to go round Portsmouth Dockyard.

² Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord Barham, Comptroller of the Navy 1778–90, was promoted to rear-admiral on 24 September, 1787, in defiance of all custom or precedent. It had clearly been supposed that, in accordance with custom, if he accepted the flag, the office of comptroller would become vacant, and the commissioner had expected to succeed to it. Middleton's family interest was presumably strong enough to carry the irregularity.

but shall confine myself to the essential points in that obliging communication respecting the progress of the works carrying on under your superintendence.

I do not know at what time the idea for amending the plan of fitting the ships for a state of ordinary with so many works to be performed upon them when wanted for service first had existence at the Navy Board. But I desired some few weeks since that the defects in the present regulations might be considered and reported in due time to this office. I collect, however, from your communication that an alteration of the system has passed to the yards without the previous assent of this Board.

Having seen Sir Charles Middleton yesterday, I desired the 44-gun ships may be finished by contract, and that the shipwrights of the yard may not be taken off from the most expeditious preparation of the ships of the line and frigates to be armed at your port. I was told in answer, that those shipwrights only who were before at work on the *Hector* had been transferred to the 44-gun ships ; and that you should be apprised by the day's post, for employing these also, to forward the line-of-battle ships and frigates. I shall be glad to be further favoured with an intimation of the time when the 44-gun ships are likely to be made ready in the manner now to be adopted, and if any other suggestions occurring to you on the general plan of works which the present critical state of things may render necessary in a greater extent.

I am, with great esteem and regard, Sir,
Your most faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

P.S.—I return the enclosed, which will remain unnoticed as you desire.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Admiralty, 15 October, 1787.

Dear Sir,—You make apologies in your letter of the 12th for one of the most important services that I could have rendered to me at this crisis, by naming an assistant of the character you give of Mr. Ancrum. Men of similar erudition I believe are to be obtained; but they are so void of all maritime knowledge that the assistance they could afford me would be very insufficient for my purpose. Qualifications, however, without some degree of personal goodwill subsisting between the parties, and a prospect of permanent accommodation for the assistant, would still leave the connection imperfect. Wherefore I shall be farther obliged to you (if you could give me any further information of Mr. Ancrum's¹ circumstances and situation antecedent to the present time) for such particulars which may enable me to form some opinion of his competency for confidential intercourse, before I desire to see him. I have received your recommendation of Lieutenant Henry Harding Parker, but don't find any lieutenant of that name upon the List.²

The despatch that will be made in the civil department at your port I never doubted. The procuring men for the ships, as fast as you can have them ready to receive those we are able to raise, is the object of my present anxiety, as we don't meet with all the support from the magistracy of this opulent city that their readiness to grant pecuniary assistance gave us cause to expect.

I am, dear Sir,
Most faithfully yours,
HOWE.

¹ Who or what Mr. Ancrum was, or the service for which he was wanted, cannot now be traced.

² A lieutenant of 30 May, 1786; apparently promoted abroad and not yet confirmed.

COMMISSIONER PROBY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Chatham Yard, October 21st, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I received our memorial to obtain an equivalent for our half-pay from Mr. Laforey yesterday, and shall send it to-night to Sir Charles Middleton.

Lord Howe has informed [me] that Sir Charles Middleton's promotion to the rank of a rear-admiral has made no vacancy at the Navy Board, which, in my opinion, gives you, Mr. Laforey, and me a just claim to our rank as admirals also; to obtain which it may be necessary for us to join in a memorial either to his Majesty or to the Minister, but previously to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My best respects wait on you, Mrs. Martin, and family.

I am, dear Sir, much yours,
C. PROBY.

LORD HOWE TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, 23 November, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I have the satisfaction to concur in opinion with you on several of the ideas you have favoured me with in your letter of the 20th. Though the propositions for altering the state of the ships in ordinary, and their preparation for sea service with more expedition, were not particularly excepted to, it was recommended to the Navy Board, in answer, to revise their suggestions, and to give their farther opinions on the subject when the ships are to be paid off. And I conclude, the material exceptions you have communicated to the

substitution of iron for the additional quantity of shingle ballast for ships in ordinary will naturally make a part of their amended proposals. But I do not see how the other works noticed in the master attendants' report of what they had to do in their branch on the late occasion can be executed in less time.

I have already conversed with the surveyor respecting the inspection of the Victory. Your very pertinent admonition thereon will be attended to, and the dock guards re-established, as soon as the suitable arrangements can be made for those purposes.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear Sir,
Your most faithful, humble servant,
HOWE.

COMMISSIONER LAFOREY TO COMMISSIONER MARTIN.

Plymouth Yard, April 27th, 1788.

My dear Friend,—It gives us much pleasure to find by the letters we receive from your daughter that you are so much better and are able to become a rake. I hope an ability to be so will still continue, which will give happiness to all your family and pleasure to all your friends.

Captain Fanshawe¹ (that odd fish) at the pay-

¹ Robert Fanshawe, who commanded the Monmouth in Byron's action at Grenada on 6 July, 1779, and the Namur with Rodney on 12 April. He had since then been captain of the Bombay Castle, guardship at Plymouth, and M.P. for Plymouth. In the following year, 1789, he was appointed resident commissioner at Plymouth, and held the post till the peace in 1815. He died at Stonehouse on 4 February, 1823, at which date, had he accepted his flag, he would have been senior admiral of the red. Byam Martin married one of his daughters, and his name frequently occurs in the correspondence.

ment of his ship the other day demanded his own and his servant's wages although he had not passed his accounts, asserting that he was entitled thereto by the Act of Parliament, and should apply to me in an official letter to give my reasons for refusing them to him, which I can easily do. But it was mentioned by one of the pay clerks that you had applied to the Navy Board upon a similar requisition being made to you ; if so, I shall be obliged to you if you will acquaint me with the result of it.

I have not heard from Mr. Nepean what Mr. Cotterell has done upon the subject of our half-pay, but have written to inquire of him ; when I get his answer I will communicate it to you. It will be necessary that we should make some stir in it, for I can plainly perceive that if it is put off on account of the new arrangements proposed by the Commissioner of Inquiry, we shall have new memorials to prefer for the arrears due to us thereon, and I would propose, in case there is no bar to the Order being issued from the Council, that Proby,¹ yourself and I should appoint an agent to get this matter carried through the offices ; it will cost us but a few guineas and may save us a great deal of trouble hereafter.

We have seen Byam but once since I came down, and that for a few minutes only ; the ship is too much a prison. His Royal Highness² is as little visible ; except an hour in the day he attends on board, he is seen nowhere but at Mr. Wynne's.³ He tells us that he is to go the old round to America and the West Indies, and that in the spring of the next year he is to receive orders at Halifax for his further proceedings, which he says will

¹ Charles Proby, a captain of 1746, commissioner, since 1771, at Chatham, where he died in 1799.

² Prince William Henry. ³ See *ante*, pp. 121-3.

be to return home. We all unite in most affectionate regards to yourself and your good family, and I am, my dear friend,

Most faithfully yours,
JOHN LAFOREY.

SIR ERASMUS GOWER¹ TO SIR H. MARTIN.

My dear Sir,—I wrote you a scrambling letter from Rio Janeiro,² and I am now about doing the same from North Island on the coast of Sumatra, where we are waiting for the change of the season, to proceed for the Yellow Sea. The Ambassador has received despatches from Canton, signifying that the embassy will be well received, and the Emperor has given directions all along his sea-shore to be prepared to receive us ; he says in his instructions to the mandarins, &c., that as it is uncertain where the embassy may arrive, you must be in readiness at all probable places, and should they have not sufficient water to bring their large and small ships up as near to Peking as I understand they mean to attempt, you are to be near that spot with sufficient force of vessels of easy draft of water to receive the Ambassador, his suite, and presents, and to proceed with them, with every convenience, attention, and despatch possible, to Peking. This language of the Emperor's will of course be known in time, but, as I have it from Lord Macartney, it may [be] as well not [to mention that it] came from me.

I shall now, my dear Sir, carry you back to Rio Janeiro, and leave it on the 18th of December,

¹ At this time commanding the Lion, which took Lord Macartney out to China in 1792-3. The story of the voyage and the embassy was written at length by Sir George Staunton, secretary of the embassy (2 vols. 4to. 1797).

² Not found.

from whence I got into the variable winds as early as possible, and on the 1st of February I made the islands of Inaccessible, Nightingale, and Tristan d'Acunha.¹ As these islands are very nearly in the track of all our outward bound ships that don't mean to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, I thought it incumbent upon me to see what they produced. I therefore sent the boats to look for a place of safety for the ship, which having been found, I anchored late in the evening at Tristan d'Acunha, and prepared the boats for going the next morning to circumnavigate the island, and proper people to explore the interior parts ; but unfortunately it came to blow during the night, which forced me to sea, and I failed in completing the desirable object. However some essentials have been procured ; a just situation of the islands, and that water and anchorage can to a certainty be procured.² The present inhabitants of the islands are an innumerable variety of oceanic fish, and birds, and very good fish for the table. When I left Tristan d'Acunha I got into a higher southern latitude so as to be attended with strong winds, and the hopes of seeing Gough, Richmond, and other islands which lay to the south of forty degrees, but they are so indifferently described as to latitude and longitude that I saw nothing of them, though I had very strong indications of having passed very near ; and as they are in the track of our ships, particularly bound to Botany Bay, it is to be lamented that we

¹ A glance at an atlas will give a better idea of their position than any description.

² A very unsafe anchorage, especially to strangers, heavy rollers setting in during a calm with very little warning. In 1817, the Julia sloop of war was so caught, torn from her anchors, and totally wrecked with a fearful loss of life.—*Africa Pilot* (1893), vol. ii., p. 264.

are not better acquainted with them. In all this passage the gales were strong, and very often much sea—northerly winds producing thick weather, with much rain, and the southerly winds clear, but so cold, that a great-coat was a very desirable companion. We had one hard gale of wind and the worst sea I ever saw; the ship rolled the quarter-deck in the water, the angle exceeding fifty degrees. I sometimes thought she never meant to get again on an even keel. This weather produced the Emperor of China some harsh expressions, but all now is calm and well disposed towards him. In the gale of wind the cock for letting in water for sweetening the ship broke, this caused the increase of eight inches of water an hour, which, added to what the ship made from the ports, &c., alarmed us a good deal, as we could not find out where the additional water came in at. On the 1st of February we saw the islands of St. Paul¹ and Amsterdam¹, and anchored the same evening at the latter, where it took me up all the next day to repair our damages. Amsterdam² is a most extraordinary and curious spot, and as there will hereafter be much said about it by the learned, I shall refrain from any description except relating that it was first discovered [in 1697] by Vlaming, a Dutchman, who likewise examined St. Paul's,³ at which there is no anchorage, but it is covered with wood and has rivulets of water. Amsterdam² has neither of these good things, and I think the most barren spot I ever saw. It is near a hundred years since it was first seen, it had then undergone a great revolution by a most violent eruption, which had produced a crater of upwards of

¹ The names are now reversed. St. Paul is the southern island. On it H.M.S. Megæra was stranded to save the lives of the crew, owing to the ship having been disgracefully fitted.

² Now St. Paul.

³ Now Amsterdam.

two miles in circumference, and the sea water which flowed into it through a stony causeway had the depth of twenty-seven fathoms in it. The causeway¹ is since that time so reduced, that there is a passage in at high water for vessels drawing ten feet, the tide running in and out, at the rate of three miles an hour. It has no fixed residents, but whales, seals, and an incredible number of birds; but our people come here to kill seals for the sake of the skins for the China market, and at this time there were two English, the same number of Americans, governed by a Frenchman; this motley crew have been here five months, and were to remain ten longer, when their vessel was to come and fetch them off, at which time they expected to be in possession of 25,000 skins; each good skin would fetch them three dollars at Canton, which is an immense return. Vlaming, in his relation of this place, says you may throw the fish, fastened on the hook, out of the cold into the boiling water; this we found to be strictly true. First removing a few stones on the beach about the situation of half tide, you made a little pool, where the salt water flowed in, and the heat was at 212 degrees; we caught a kind of tench and red perch in the crater, which was perfectly dressed by being thrown into the pool of hot water, and they were the most delicious food I ever tasted. We tried the thermometer upon some of the highest hills, where the heat was likewise at 212, but this is not a general thing, the steam in various places showing where the heat is at so great an extreme. The water the fishermen

¹ Von Vlaming describes the causeway as five feet high, extending completely across. I was there in 1857, and can testify to the accuracy of the description given by Gower. Seals are extinct, but a valuable cod fishery was carried on from Bourbon on much the same lines as sealing was.

have is a strong chalybeate, and heated to the 112th degree ; they put it in casks, where it cools and¹ evaporates : after that change they consider it good drinking. From Rio Janeiro to Amsterdam is twenty-one hundred leagues, which we performed in ten weeks—a great run considering it is all in a variable winds' way ; we left it the 3rd of February [1793], and got to North Island the last of the month, where we only stayed to take in wood and water, and proceeded for Batavia to take up the Ambassador's despatches and to give our people some fresh meat ; our stay was but short, dreading Batavia, which is among the most unwholesome places in the world. Fevers and fluxes were very soon introduced, but I thank God we escaped death, and it is a remarkable thing that we have not yet lost a man, and there are above six hundred of us in both ships—I should say squadron, for we are approaching very near to that. A brig was purchased in England, which was manned from the Lion, and we parted in thick weather in the Channel, and as we did not meet after, I feared we should never see her again. This occasioned another brig being bought at Batavia, which I have likewise manned, and called her the Clarence in honour of the Duke, and to our great satisfaction the Jackal joined us here the 24th of March ; they had been four months at sea from St. Jago, suffered a little from short allowance, but [were] in every other respect very well. The currents and winds begin now to abate, so that we shall be moving in two or three days towards the Straits of Banca, but we shall not be able to navigate along the coast of China

¹ So in MS., perhaps by a slip of the pen for 'as it.' The meaning would seem to be that as it cools, it deposits some of the salts with which it is charged. Staunton says 'they—the fishermen—feel no inconvenience from its use, and habit has reconciled them to its taste.'

until late in May ; the intermediate time will be taken up on the coast of Cochin China—I believe Turon Bay¹—and it is probable the Ambassador will be able to transact some useful business there, but this is among our secrets.

The Dutch Company are going to ruin very fast ; there are Commissioners come out to inquire into the cause. There has been a revolt at the Cape of Good Hope,² and the farmers have had many points given up to them. The Dutch, formerly, sent eight ships yearly to Japan ; it is now reduced to one in two years. I believe we shall go there—this is another secret. I wish the old ship may last all the work that is proposed for her ; we are going very sparingly to work, in hopes that our furniture may last. The fore and main top-masts that are now up are fished ; probably such a thing has not often happened before. There are many pirates in these seas. The Dutch have been the cause of it, in robbing the natives of their possessions ; but the worst evil is that the Europeans have mixed with them, so that it is dangerous for small vessels, and those that are unarmed, to navigate. About ten days ago twenty-two of them fought a Dutch man-of-war snow³ of sixteen guns for three hours, when it became a drawn battle. I am almost ashamed of this long epistle, but as you will have no other trouble but reading, and its being a desire of Lady Martin, I shall hope to be pardoned, and shall only trespass further to add my wishes, that by the time this gets to England, you will have heard of Byam's promotion, and that Lady

¹ A few miles south of Hué—west coast of Cochin China.

² The Boers even under a Dutch Government were unruly.

³ A snow was a slightly modified brig, working the boom mainsail on a sort of smalltrysail-mast abaft the main mast, instead of as in a brig on the main mast itself.

Martin, yourself, my good Sir, and young ladies are as well as I wish them, to whom I beg my best regards, and am, dear Sir, with much respect and high esteem, your obliged, humble servant,

E. GOWER.

P.S.—It is not more than a week since this letter was wrote, but that short period will make me alter the favourable account of our health ; for the Hindostan has lost three men in consequence of our visit to Batavia,¹ and a fever has deprived us of one, a second fell overboard while asleep and was drowned, and a third, one of the Ambassador's suite, was murdered on Sumatra by the natives for the sake of his clothes.

A Mr. Kirk, a surgeon, asked me when in England to use my interest for his getting a guardship at Portsmouth when it became his turn, which I promised to do, but it escaped my memory ; should he write to you, dear Sir, on the subject, pray acknowledge my having spoken, but it can't come to his turn a long while—he was last with Calder in the Barfleur.

Anger Point, Straits of Sunda, April 14th, 1793.

SIR E. GOWER TO SIR H. MARTIN.

My dear Sir,—Though it will be a long while before this reaches England, yet I must forward it to Canton, not knowing when I shall have another conveyance. Our prospects of good health, &c., were very favourable when I wrote from the Straits of Sunda, which very soon disappeared,

¹ Captain Cook mentions that every man in the ship had Batavian fever, 'excepting the sailmaker, an old man between 70 and 80, who was constantly drunk every day.'

and [were] superseded by the consequences of our visit to Batavia, and long detention on the coast of Banca, Java, and Sumatra, which are the most unhealthy places in the world—a great deal of the land near the sea being low, swampy, and covered with trees, so that there is a perfect stagnation ; besides we were there during the rainy season, which is very violent, with much thunder, lightning, and hard squalls of wind, which rendered the duty very laborious, and our movements tedious ; you will likewise, my dear Sir, easily recollect what a state our lower gun-deck would be in when the ports and hammocks were down for several days ; the foul air contained there was of itself sufficient to produce infection. At one time we had 120 men confined with fevers, dysenteries, and liver complaints, and latterly the people became so debilitated from disease, and having been so long with the sun,¹ that they were very frequently seized with spasms, without any previous indication of complaint, from which it required great skill and force of medicine to restore them. Twenty of the best men have fallen : among the number is the gunner and purser ; the latter is a severe stroke upon me and the ship, having nobody to put in his place, which I fear will cause much confusion. Having mentioned the situation of the ship during bad weather in a hot climate gives me an opportunity to say that we are all of an opinion that Mr. White's extractor² is a

¹ Being so long near the equator, where the sun, in the beginning of April, is nearly overhead at noon.

² This machine, the invention of John White of the Minories, may be described as a double-action pair of bellows on the main deck, the exhaust of which was supplied by a pipe leading from the hold. A drawing of it, signed Geo. White, is preserved in the department of the Controller of the Navy. Some preliminary experiments on board the Leopard at Woolwich in 1792 were favourably reported on by the Navy Board, and one of the

most useful machine, for whenever it was worked the good effects was very perceptible, and in adding fresh air it gave very powerful relief, for our spirit-rooms and after-hold were become so heated that we could not work in them without its assistance, the people having frequently fainted away. The officers and myself have often expressed our obligations for your having ordered it, and for your recommendation in giving yawls the preference to cutters ; we only took out one of the latter, and though she has been kept up very much, yet she has already been nearly rebuilt, and the others have required but little repair.

We left the Straits of Sunda the 18th of April, and got through the Straits of Banca the 8th May ; the latter is intricate and the water shoal. We went next to Pulo Lingen,¹ a fine island, situated near the line ; our intended business was to discover if it afforded safe anchorage and to find out what it produced, but bad weather forced us to quit it without having procured any knowledge. I went next to Pulo Condor² with the same views, that of forming settlements, availing ourselves as early as possible of the decline of the Dutch.³ I likewise promised machines was fitted on board the Lion for further inquiry. In 1793 one was fitted on board the Victory, going out to the Mediterranean as flag-ship, and ten others were ordered to be supplied to any three-deckers whose captains applied for them. Some favourable reports were sent in, but in the stress of war nothing more was heard of them. By a curious coincidence in the same year a William White applied to the Navy Board to adopt a similar machine of his invention, but was answered that they were already making experiments with one of a simpler construction, and that till the reports on it were received, nothing could be done. Apparently nothing was done, and both machines died a natural death.

¹ Pulo Linga, a small island between Banca and Singapore.

² An island off the SE coast of Cochin China.

³ From the very beginning of the seventeenth century there had been bitter rivalry in the East between the English and Dutch,

myself fresh provisions and rest for the people, but our constant attendant, bad weather, made us leave that place sooner than we proposed ; however Pulo Condor has sufficient places of safety, with good water and refreshments, but we got none of the latter, as the inhabitants became terrified at the sight of four vessels, and retired into the country taking with them their live stock ; they were Chinese, and at our first interview promised liberal supplies. I left the island the 18th May, and made the coast of Camboya the next day, and coasted along its shore and that of Tsompa and Cochin China until we arrived in sixteen degrees north, and anchored in Turon Bay the 26th.

Now comes one of my secrets, together with that of our intentions of making settlements. We were directed to visit this country, being furnished with a letter from our King to his Majesty of Cochin China, with directions to make use of it, if it should be thought advisable ; however, as the King was not on the spot, the having such an instrument was kept a secret, for fear it should be said in China that the embassy was not solely fitted out for the Emperor. There was several letters passed between the King and his lordship, which contained such favourable language that we are to visit his Majesty on our way home ; and I am persuaded it will be productive of good, so far as trade upon very moderate terms, and I think it is probable that we shall have a settlement on a peninsula christened by us New Gibraltar. It is a very fine, healthy climate, and the country produces

which, among other tragic episodes, had led to the 'Massacre of Amboyna' in 1623, and had no small part in causing the wars of the third quarter of the century. By the end of the eighteenth century the power of Holland had waned, and after 1787 was, for the time, extinct. Her commercial supremacy fell with it.

much gold and silver, five or six specimens of rice and cinnamon—some of the latter they value at fifty Spanish dollars a pound—pepper, sugar, sugar-candy,¹ indigo, and various other riches. The Ambassador received as a present from the King, two elephant's teeth, 750 lbs. of pepper, 110 tons of rice, 100 fowls, the same number of ducks, fifty hogs, ten buffaloes, and twenty gallons of tsam-chew, which is a strong spirit distilled from rice ; it is so very strong that a little of it will go a great way. The King resided about twenty leagues from the north of us—a young man about thirteen ; he has been in possession of the reins of government near three years, which is the period the commotions ceased from a war of twenty years ; and I doubt their remaining quiet long, as this young man is not the proper heir to the crown. We stayed at Turon three weeks, during which time I landed ninety men. They recovered wonderfully the first three or four days, the weather having been tolerably cool ; but afterwards, from want of rain, the ground became so heated that the thermometer was frequently at 90 ; this compelled me to re-embark them, and we have little hopes but from the change of air and cold weather, which I hope we shall now soon get as we are passing under the sun for the fifth time within the same number of months. I am at this moment at anchor off of the Great Ladrone,² but shall sail to-morrow morning at daylight for Chusan,³ a place in the latitude of thirty degrees north ; there I hope to get pilots for the

¹ A manufactured article, not a production. In 1857 off Canton it was issued to my gunboat instead of sugar. It was wasteful, as my guests were fond of it.

² One of a small group of islands on the coast of China, to the southward of Macao : not to be confused with the larger group, 30 degrees further east.

³ An excellent anchorage, used by us in our first war with China.

Yellow Sea.¹ Pray excuse great haste, and present my best respects to Lady Martin, young ladies, &c. and believe, dear Sir,

With many sincere regards, &c.

E. GOWER.

Latitude 22 degrees N, longitude 113 E, June 22.

SIR E. GOWER TO SIR H. MARTIN.

My dear Sir,—I wrote while off of Macao, and am now doing myself the pleasure of beginning this from my journey's end ; however I shall go back and bring you on regularly. We left the Ladrones the 23rd of June, and the 25th entered the channel between the main of China and the island of Formosa ; the narrowest part is about 24 leagues, soundings all through, and the channel good. In this situation former travellers represent having met with very bad weather ;² we escaped tolerably, having only experienced one gale, but some sails suffered, and we had much more thunder and lightning than many nerves are equal to bear. On the 1st of July we steered in among the Quesan³

¹ The Hwang-hai, or Yellow Sea, takes its name from the yellow waters of the Hwang-ho, or Yellow River, which at the time of Gower's voyage, as for centuries before, debouched about 150 miles north of the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang. Flowing through a low-lying and alluvial plain, it was always a source of anxiety and the maintenance of its embankments was a heavy expense. In 1851-4, owing to the neglect of this during the Tai-ping rebellion, it changed its lower course to the northward, and submerging a cultivated and densely populated district, broke for itself a new mouth—or rather, recovered an old mouth of many centuries before—into the Gulf of Pe-che-li. It will be seen that Gower includes this Gulf under the name of Yellow Sea, and makes no mention of the Shantung promontory.

² The hurricane season had not commenced, of which Gower was probably unaware. In some years, the NE monsoon rules in the Formosa Channel, even in July.

³ An old name for the Chusan group.

Islands, where we anchored, and afterwards despatched an officer to Chusan, a place our ships formerly came [to] for tea, for it is in this province it chiefly grows. We lost this beneficial spot owing to some ill conduct of our India gentlemen ; however it is to be hoped that we shall recover it again now, with the addition of some other good things. Our business at Chusan was to endeavour to procure pilots to navigate us as near Peking as possible, and there were people had the assurance to offer themselves ; with these guides we set out on the ninth, and begun to traverse a sea that had not been explored before by Europeans ; and to our great mortification the first day discovered to us that our pilots¹ did not even know the land. In this situation there was nothing left but to poke on until we could get no farther, and in this we were very successful, it so happening that there never was a sea so clear of danger, which was very fortunate in many respects, particularly the case of our people who still continued very unhealthy, having 80 and 90 in the list, losing one every four or five days. We changed our pilots frequently at the different provinces, and from vessels at sea, but there was no relief from any, for they had no idea of anything that drew more than six or seven feet water. In this dark road did we travel until the 25th of July, which brought us into half five² in the Yellow Sea, and that in a western direction, which was a proof we could not get further ; there we anchored waiting for the arrival of some accidental traveller to point out to us where Tientsin was, which river had communication with Peking. A

¹ Not by any means a solitary instance of pilots being more bad than good.

² 'Half five' is the nautical way of expressing water $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms deep.

very few hours gave us information, and proved that we could not get one step further, that we were in the [right] direction, our port bearing nearly west from us 14 or 15 miles, and though we could not see the land then, we should do it from our mastheads when the weather was clearer, for that the land was very low.¹ We immediately despatched our tenders to announce our arrival, and to request vessels to be sent off immediately to convey our great folks, presents, &c., and to represent in the strongest manner that no time might be lost in relieving us from this perilous station, being exposed to a sea and wind from two-thirds of the compass for more than 50 leagues in the latitude of 40 degrees. On this occasion the Chinese exerted themselves, and in the first vessels that came they brought as a present, for the people, twenty bullocks, 120 sheep, the same number of hogs, tea, sugar and innumerable other things which I am told cost them three thousand Spanish dollars.² Half of it of course was destroyed. Some of the principal mandarins attended to welcome the Ambassador, and to say that everything on shore was prepared for his reception and journey to Peking, from which place he was distant about 130 miles; that so soon as the Emperor was informed of the intention of the King of England, he had immediately ordered a convenient house to be built for the Ambassador, which was then quite furnished, and that he had directed alterations to be made in houses on the sea coast where it was likely the ship might stop at. This we found to be true at the several places we touched at, and we likewise got provisions wherever we called, so that upon the whole it will be an expensive visit

¹ They were, in fact, at anchor off the bar of the Pei-ho.

² Probably, to use a country term, it was 'squeezed' out of the nearest locality.

even to the Emperor. However, to make as short of this story as I can, I must tell you that my friends left me on the 5th of August, and I have had a letter from his lordship¹ since, saying that their profusions and attentions on the road bordered on making it uncomfortable. I shall now return to my own melancholy history—that as this was an inhospitable coast for shelter, that I left it the moment I could, in search of a harbour and a place to land the sick ; I examined every favourable-looking spot between Tientsin and Chusan without effect, which occupies near 400 leagues of fine coast, with innumerable creeks and small harbours, and as hardly any of them produced 20 feet water one would suppose it never was intended that anything larger than a Chinese junk should have entered the Yellow Sea. I got to Chusan the 1st of September, where I must stay seven or eight weeks to endeavour to recover those that are lost. My losses amount to 34 ; among the number is the fourth lieutenant, a relation of Kingsmill's,² the gunner, an old follower, and the purser the same, and I won't tell you how near I was a few days ago to add to the number. The purser is a very severe loss, and I really don't know how I am to get on ; for my clerk never was at sea before, and if you *all* have not infinite mercy on me I don't know how any of us can get through our accounts, or how we shall get through the various duties that is yet left undone. If we had been slightly sheathed it would have been quite as well, for I assure you we have been very hard worked, and we begin to discover that this voyage has much more pain and labour attached to it than pleasure ; and after my

¹ Macartney, the Ambassador.

² Afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Kingsmill, Bart.

stay here I have six months hard work cut out for me, at the end of which, or the beginning of next May, I propose being at Macao to receive the Ambassador; but not to bring him home to relate what happened at Peking, but to convey him to collect other materials, which will bring forward the following September, when we must again take shelter during the rainy months, and afterwards come home like Lions; I believe the few of us that will be left will be tolerably tame.

They make use of a visiting card in China which saves much expense, I therefore send Lady Martin five of them. If the party is at home, and you are not very intimate, you send your card in some time before you, and after it is shown your servant receives it again, having in general a small box to put it in for preservation; if the party should not be at home the card is shown to the servant, who makes a memorandum of it—so much for economy. Chusan like several cities on the sea coast is much reduced and banished [*sic*], everybody getting as near the metropolis as possible, so that this is little more now than a small trading town; but insignificant as it is, from the jealousy of the Chinese of strangers, that we scarce put our feet on shore except to visit the hospital. The ship's books comes home by the Hindostan, and, as it is probable that Miss Martins never saw the seed that produces the tea, I have sent it in the state I took it off the tree. The Chinese gather the seeds in January and February, and sow them in moist ground about three inches below the surface in the same months, and the tree begins to make its appearance in about six weeks.

Chusan, October 13th, [1793].

SIR E. GOWER TO SIR H. MARTIN.

[Written from Chusan in October : probably sent at the same time as the preceding.]

[*Private.*]

My dear Sir,—I now come to my secret,¹ which really exceeds the others by far, as it only comes to your great house by this or next conveyance. I mean to sail from here about the latter end of October, and go first to Jeddo, on the southernmost part of Japan, and endeavour to have an interview with the King, and from the representation I shall make of my reception will depend much on the Ambassador's visiting that spot. The eastern part of Formosa is very little known. I shall if possible examine it, and afterwards go to Manila, and endeavour to discover what state they are in as to themselves and native powers, and from thence go to almost all the Philippines : while upon this service I hope you will contrive to be at peace with the Dons, for I shall be quite in the dark as to European information. The Philippines are so distorted with Malay names that it would be needless describing them, for you would not find them on any English chart. This trip is to produce nautical knowledge, and probably get a great part of the trade from the Spaniards and Dutch, who are extremely disliked, and in a very tottering state ; it will likewise give me an opportunity of visiting an old acquaintance, one of the Kings of Celebes, who prevented our being cut off in the Swallow,² and offered to let us

¹ The suggestion and plan were probably Gower's, but they were put into the form of instructions by Macartney and are printed *in extenso* in Staunton, vol. i., pp. 504 *et seq.*

² Gower had been with Byron in the *Dolphin*, 1764-6, in his voyage of discovery round the world. On his return he was promoted to lieutenant and appointed to the *Swallow* under

settle in his country. These various employments will bring on the month of May, when I go to Canton to refit for the next services. I have no doubt but the late China ships this year will bring reports of our being a missing ship, for there is nobody in this country except his lordship and Sir George Staunton that knows of my destination, nor do I believe it will be made known in England, but kept pretty close within your walls.

SIR E. GOWER TO SIR H. MARTIN.

My dear Sir,—You will be a little surprised to get a letter from me dated off of Macao, but disappointments has been the cause, for just as I was going to prepare for going to the northward, I was made acquainted with the ship being without medicine, particularly bark and opium; indeed the surgeon and his first mate had long been ill, which will plead some excuse for this omission. The moment I get my supplies I shall attempt going back again, but the winds and current are strong against me. I have by this opportunity taken the liberty of writing a public letter to the Board, which I request you will do me the honour to read and afterwards destroy it or cause it to be read. The ship's books comes home by the Hindostan, who I left at Chusan, as it was not then determined whether she should load at that port or come down to Canton. Lady Martin will find in the box a Chinese lady's shoe, but by no means of the

Carteret, to add to Byron's discoveries. In this voyage the Swallow lay at Celebes from December 1767 to May 1768, during which time Carteret believed the Dutch were intriguing with some of the native chiefs to seize the ship. Other chiefs—enemies of the Dutch—kept him acquainted with the proposals, and prevented their being carried out.

smallest size, for ladies of very high rank have scarce any feet. I beg my very best respects and remain, dear Sir, with many true regards,

Your most obedient and sincere humble servant,
E. GOWER.

H.M.S. Lion off of Macao, October 26th¹ [1793].

SIR E. GOWER TO SIR HENRY MARTIN.

My dear Sir,—I have just time by the Bombay Castle² to say that all my secrets are vanished and that the service of the embassy is at an end, and, though we shan't sail directly, we shall certainly leave this early in February and give convoy to ten sail of very rich ships, which is considered of more consequence than any good that would arise to the State by our visiting the different islands in this neighbourhood; and I have reason to believe that the business here has so far succeeded, that it would be wrong to attempt grasping at any more now. I beg my respects to the ladies, and remain, with much esteem and regard,

Dear Sir, much yours,
E. GOWER.

P.S.—We shall call at the Cape and St. Helena.

Canton, December 26th [1793].

The expedition finally got to sea on March 17, 1794, and anchored at Portsmouth, without misadventure, on September 6.

¹ They arrived at Macao on 23rd October, and on the 24th received information from the shore that France had declared war against England, Holland, and Spain.

² An East-Indiaman.

CAPTAIN CHRISTIAN¹ TO SIR HENRY MARTIN.

Queen Charlotte at Spithead, February 3rd, 1794.

Dear Sir,—The very kind interest which you have been accustomed to take in such circumstances as might relate to me occasions my troubling you with a letter, the subject matter of which you will have the goodness to consider as confidential, and you will, I hope, answer it without conceiving that I mean to intrude further upon you than to request the favour of your opinion. The expected promotion will in its consequences give me an advanced situation upon the list; the situation I hold may furnish me perhaps with pretensions to consideration. The family I have necessarily disposes me to be anxious on their account, and I have been by them persuaded to propose myself a candidate for a seat at your Board, or at one of the yards under the event of a vacancy occurring. This is a step which your opinion will materially guide and determine me respecting. If other candidates of senior pretensions or prior engagement stand in my way I would not unnecessarily interest my Admiral, by whose application I am alone to hope for success. Will you have the goodness to afford me your advice upon this interesting question?

I have been (which I am persuaded you may imagine) peculiarly circumstanced for some time. I have, however, fought through and struggled with difficulties, and I have much satisfaction in reflecting

¹ Afterwards Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Clobery Christian, K.B. He was at this time second captain of the Queen Charlotte, flagship of Lord Howe in the Channel, from which he was superseded before the fleet went to sea. In August he was made a commissioner of transports, but became a rear-admiral in the following year and died commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope in 1798.

that I have done so, but I assure you the task has been and continued to be most difficult.

I beg pardon for having so long intruded upon you upon so partial consideration, and I wish you to be assured that I mean not to communicate upon this subject with any other person than yourself, and that I shall feel very grateful for whatever opinion you may be so kind as to afford me, which I am confident will be dictated by that kindness and good sense which so generally marks your character.

I have the honour to be, with sincere regard, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,
HUGH C. CHRISTIAN.

P.S.—I request to offer my respects to Lady Martin and the ladies.

CAPTAIN CHRISTIAN TO SIR HENRY MARTIN.

Cowes, Isle of Wight, February 18th, 1794.

Dear Sir,—Your letter, which I received yesterday morning, has evinced a friendship and regard towards me that I feel most sensibly. When I wrote to you on the subject matter of my wishes, in truth I can assure you I did not mean that you should be entangled in the promotion of them : it was your opinion that I solicited, I did not consider myself entitled to more ; but with pride and pleasure I accept the obligation you so very kindly confer upon me.

At present I deem your communication as confidential, and therefore have not written to Lord Howe, who will I am persuaded consider himself obliged to you. I have full confidence that he will most readily make any excision or application you

may deem necessary, but I shall not communicate with him until I am at liberty by your permission so to do. The propriety of my doing it early will to you be obvious, as the necessary arrangement he must make will require time.

In the proposition you have had the goodness to make to me, as far as I see the question at present, I perceive but one objection to occasion hesitation, namely, the first or second situation ; if under a senior officer the objection drops, if under a junior it will require pause for consideration. But having solicited your opinion, I think I may venture to say that by it I should be governed. Upon the obligation I feel (whichever way the matter may terminate) I am desirous to say much, but in truth I want expression. Of this I beg you to be assured, that both my gratitude and my pride will make me anxious to cherish the opinion you express of me, and to prove myself deserving to be considered as,

Dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful friend,
HUGH C. CHRISTIAN.

P.S.—I shall be at Portsmouth to-morrow, and there wait your further instructions.

Character of Sir Henry Martin: ob. 1794.

In the death of Sir Henry Martin, Comptroller of the Navy, the world has been deprived of one of its noblest ornaments, for as such must be esteemed a character replete with every virtue that can dignify human nature. His loss, public and private, will be severely felt. The uprightness of his actions in his public capacity is too well known to need the testimony of an individual, and in private life those who were so happy as to know him best daily saw in

him the kind, indulgent husband—the tender, affectionate father—the firm and faithful friend ; the benevolence of his mind shone conspicuous in every action of his life ; he lived adored by his family, beloved, esteemed, and admired by his numerous acquaintance ; he died sincerely lamented by all, and to sum up his character in one short line—

The seat of every virtue was his heart.

Copied from scraps in Mrs. Bastard's handwriting, May 1848.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR T. BYAM MARTIN

SUMMARY OF BYAM MARTIN'S SERVICE.

A REFERENCE to the approbation of senior officers and other persons relating to services performed by me—prepared by desire of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, as signified by their secretary's letter of the 1st of February, 1846.

1794.—In command of the *Modeste* frigate, Vice-Admiral Lord Hood communicated to me his great approbation of what he was pleased to term 'my judgment and skill' in eluding a French squadron sent out to intercept a convoy under my charge from Gibraltar, with supplies for the fleet, then in distress for provisions and slops.

1795.—In command of the *Artois*, Commodore Sir John Warren¹ praised the conduct of that ship in chasing the *Néréide*, French frigate, into Basque Road, and (with the *Pomone* and *Galatea*) capturing and bringing out several of her convoy.

June 1796.—In command of the *Santa Margarita*,² the commander-in-chief on the coast of Ireland,

¹ Sir John Borlase Warren commanded the frigate squadron on the coast of France, with distinguished success, during the years 1793–98. See *post*, pp. 258, 288.

² Formerly a Spanish frigate, captured by the *Tartar*, Captain Alexander Græme, on 11th November, 1779.

Sir Robert Kingsmill, expressed great approbation of the conduct of that ship and the *Unicorn*, in pursuing a French squadron—*La Tribune*, *La Tamise* and *La Légère*—and the capture of *La Tamise* by the *Santa Margarita*, and the *Tribune* by the *Unicorn*; the Lords of the Admiralty marked their sense of the conduct of the two ships, and promoted the first lieutenants to the rank of commander.¹

The city of Dublin presented me with the freedom of the city. I had a similar compliment from the city of Cork.

In the same month I was sent to the coast of Scotland in quest of a Dutch frigate, and found her at anchor in the Clyde in a state of mutiny; took her to Plymouth and she was added to the Royal Navy by the name of *Jason*. I had the thanks of the admiral for that service.

In December the same year Lord Spencer wrote to say he had appointed me to the *Tamar* of 38 guns, which, says his lordship, 'is one of the finest frigates in the navy and given to you as a distinguished compliment.'

1797.—In command of the *Tamar* when the Island of Porto Rico was attacked by the forces under Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby and Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Harvey, those officers communicated to me (April 27) their great satisfaction at a voluntary attack I made on the advanced works of the enemy, which the general considered so important to the operations of the army, that by his request I repeated the attack the next day and with the same satisfactory result.

Nov. 1797.—Ill-health obliged me to change from the *Tamar* to the *Dictator* (64) to return to England, and the commander-in-chief took the occasion to express his high opinion of the activity

¹ See *post*, pp. 262-7.

with which the Tamar had cruised in the West Indies, and the great protection she had given to the trade.

The Council and Assembly of the island of Barbados complimented the services of the Tamar by voting 100 guineas to present me with a sword. The island of Antigua voted 100 guineas to present me with a piece of plate. The island of Martinique also presented me with a sword of the value of 100 guineas.

Oct. 1798.—When in command of the Fisgard I had the good fortune to capture another French frigate (*l'Immortalité*), and received from Admiral Lord Bridport¹ very strongly expressed approbation of the action, and the Admiralty marked their sense of it by promoting my first lieutenant to the rank of commander. I had also the honour of a very flattering letter of congratulation and applause from the First Lord of the Admiralty.

The city of London presented me with a service of silver dishes. The city of Exeter voted me the freedom of the city. The borough of Plymouth paid me a similar compliment.

1799.—I had the commendation of the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet for a successful attack and capture of a French vessel of war and convoy at the Penmarcks.²

June 1800.—Rear-Admiral Sir John Warren communicated to me his thanks for directing a successful attack on a French convoy in Quimper River and destroying the fort.

July.—The rear-admiral expressed his approval and thanks to me for conducting an attack upon a French convoy at anchor at Noirmoutier, and subsequently Admiral Lord St. Vincent in-

¹ See *post*, p. 282.

² Rocks off the south point of Audierne Bay.

formed me of the satisfaction the rear-admiral's report had given him.¹

Aug. 1801.—The commander-in-chief applauded the conduct and success of an attack on the vessels in the harbour of Corunna and cutting out a ship pierced for twenty guns, and some gun-boats from Corunna harbour.²

1801.—I received from Admiral Cornwallis, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, a communication of his great approbation and satisfaction at the manner I had so long watched the combined fleets in Brest in command of the inshore squadron.³

March 1804.—On the occasion of the loss of the *Magnificent* of 74 guns off Brest I became the senior officer of the squadron, and received the commander-in-chief's marked approbation of the measures used to save the lives of the crew, which was with great difficulty effected, but with the loss of 86 of my own and some of the *Magnificent*'s men taken prisoners in the boats blown ashore.

November 1804.—It was again my singular good fortune to be instrumental in saving the lives of another crew, when the *Venerable* was cast away in Torbay, and I had the satisfaction to receive great praise from the commander-in-chief, Captain Hunter of the *Venerable*, and, through Sir J. Colpoys, from the First Lord of the Admiralty. Captain Hunter, of the *Venerable*, on that occasion declared to the court-martial that 'it was the opinion of himself, and everyone on board, that not one of their lives would have been saved but for the spirited exertions of the captain and the officers and men of

¹ See *post*, p. 288.

² See *post*, p. 293.

³ The letter referred to has not been found, but cf. *post*, p. 295.

L'Impétueux.' Out of 579 men, only two were drowned.¹

1808.—In command of the Implacable of 74 guns, in company with the Centaur, we fell in with the fleet of the enemy—11 sail of Russian line-of-battle ships and several frigates—blockading our allies, the Swedish fleet, in Oro Road, Gulf of Bothnia. The Swedes were 9 sail of the line and 3 frigates in a sickly, inefficient state. Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood forced the Swedish admiral to put to sea to attack the Russian fleet. On the 26th of August the good sailing of the Implacable enabled her to close with a 74, the rear ship of the Russian line, and compelled her to strike, but the whole fleet bore up to her succour and the admiral recalled the Implacable. The Russian was so disabled that she could not reach Port Baltic with the rest of the flying fleet and was captured and burnt that night by the Centaur and Implacable in the immediate presence of the Russian fleet, she having run on the beach and the Centaur on shore with her at the same time. Sir Samuel Hood wrote to me to say, 'I shall never forget the services you have rendered me by your advice, and your gallant conduct in attacking the rear ship of the enemy.'

Admiral Sir James Saumarez expressed great approbation of the proceedings of the two ships, and the Admiralty were not less strong in their praise, and promoted the first lieutenants. I had the honour of a very complimentary message from the First Lord of the Admiralty through the admiral.

The King of Sweden applied to the British Government for the permission of our Sovereign to confer upon Sir Samuel Hood and myself and Captain Webley the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword,

¹ See *post*, pp. 310-11. Cf. *Blockade of Brest*, vol. ii. (N.R.S. vol. xxi.), p. 129.

which was allowed, and announced to Sir James Saumarez by Count de Moreno in a letter dated 3rd of October. I had also an official intimation of our King's permission to accept the order, and the decorations were sent to me, but I never applied to be gazetted, and consequently it has never been publicly recognised.¹

At this time I was requested by the commander-in-chief to serve as captain of the fleet during Captain Hope's absence in England.

July 1809.—I attacked, and after a severe conflict captured, a Russian flotilla of heavy-armed gun-boats with supplies for the Russian army, by cutting them out from under Porkola Point. The Admiral, Sir James Saumarez, who had previously in a public order praised this affair, wrote to me as follows: 'Lord Melville in a private letter conveys in the strongest terms the approbation of the Admiralty,' and adds, 'that when the action was reported to the King, his Majesty expressed his gracious approbation and applause, and his regret at the loss of so good an officer as Lieutenant Hawkey and Lieutenant Stirling.' Lieutenant Allen, who succeeded to the command, was promoted.² In company with the *Melpomene* I also captured in the Gulf of Narva a convoy of 18 sail laden with the 'Empress dues.'³

1812.—When, as a rear-admiral, my flag was hoisted on board the *Aboukir*, and in command of a detached squadron up the Baltic, and having ascertained that the French army was advancing upon Riga, I offered (though at war with Russia) to co-operate with them in defence of the place. The Emperor sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Balabin, with a thankful acceptance of the offer, and an assurance that my Government would be well

¹ See vol. ii., pp. 63-4, 124. ² See vol. ii., pp. 128-131.

³ See vol. ii., p. 132.

pleased with the friendly act. I had the satisfaction to receive through the admiral the cordial approval of my own Government in taking upon myself so great a responsibility.

The eight weeks I was at Riga was one continued time of extraordinary energy by my officers and men, and the rapidity with which I fitted out and heavily armed a flotilla of gun-boats and of mortar-boats called forth the unbounded applause from the Governor, General von Essen, and gave confidence to the garrison then menaced by the near approach of Marshal Macdonald's division of the French army.

I had frequent communications of the Emperor's strong approbation of my proceedings ; and not less frequently from my admiral at Gottenburg.

Marshal Oudinot being about to leave Danzig with a large reinforcement, and a battering train to act against Riga, I proposed to the governor that I should take the Russian men-of-war and every vessel I could collect in addition to my own (together 23 sail) and 500 Russian soldiers to make a diversion in the rear of the marshal, and threaten Danzig, and so draw him back until the season would be too late to advance upon Riga.

This happily succeeded to the utmost of my wishes, and a letter from the governor stated in the fullest terms of gratitude 'that I had saved Riga.'

Having obtained from England at my request two bombs,¹ I was enabled to open upon the lower fort, and dressing the seamen in marine jackets and crowding the people on the boom with men, the French were completely deceived and retraced their steps to defend the place.

Lord Cathcart, the King's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, wrote to me the 22nd of September—

¹ See vol. ii., p. 280.

'the diversion which you projected, and have since executed, has evidently been productive of great annoyance to the enemy. The activity of your operations, as reported to the Russian Government, and the zeal and attention for the important objects of general service of the war manifested by you have afforded great satisfaction here, and to all who are employed in conducting the King's service in the north.'¹

I had also a letter from the King's Ambassador at Stockholm to the same effect.²

The Emperor sent me through the Governor of Riga a splendid diamond box, and when he came to England his imperial Majesty desired I might be ordered to Portsmouth that he might thank me in person for saving, as he was pleased to term it, 'my city of Riga ;' and my flag was ordered to Portsmouth accordingly.³

A vast amount of British property had been sequestered at Riga, the release of which I procured by my influence with the governor ; by the exertions of my people 124 loaded ships were speedily placed beyond the reach of the enemy, and in order to provide freight for the hemp, naval stores and merchandise to England, I took upon myself the great responsibility to grant licences to ships of all nations, even to Americans with whom we were at war, by which the cargoes of upwards of 200 sail was safely landed in England, and I had on that occasion the high satisfaction to receive through the Secretary of the Admiralty a copy of a letter from Lord Chetwynd, the Clerk of the Council, informing the Admiralty of the great satisfaction of the Lords of the Council : 'My Lords consider that Admiral Martin has acted with great

¹ See vol. ii., pp. 290-291.

² Not found.

³ See vol. iii., p. 4.

judgment in granting licences in the manner he has described.'

1813.—Having returned from the Baltic, I was soon after directed to transfer my flag to the Creole frigate and to proceed to the north coast of Spain,¹ and immediately to go on to the Marquis of Wellington's head-quarters on an important and delicate mission, the particulars of which are recorded at the Admiralty. On my return I received from the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville, the following: 'I received at Portsmouth the very satisfactory report of your mission, a result which is to be ascribed to the manner in which it has been executed on your part.' A public letter from the Board was sent to me to the same effect. I received also on this occasion very strong expressions of approbation and thanks from Admiral Lord Keith.²

1814.—I was placed under the orders of Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was appointed by commission under the Great Seal to carry into execution the fifteenth article of the treaty of peace, by which the fleet and all naval stores at Antwerp and other ports were to be divided between the French and the Dutch, and had the honour to receive the thanks of the King of Holland and of the Austrian, Dutch, and French commissioners, and of Lord Castlereagh, for the prompt and equitable arrangement of so intricate and difficult a duty.³

1815.—When Bonaparte relanded I was ordered with a squadron to the Scheldt to co-operate with the army under the Duke of Wellington, and had the satisfaction to have my conduct entirely approved.

Finally, when the war ended my flag was struck,

¹ See vol. ii., p. 377. ² See vol. ii., pp. 413-15.

³ See vol. iii., pp. 12-37.

and I received on that occasion a letter from Admiral Sir John Duckworth expressing warm approval of my services while acting under his superior flag.

But my services in the war closed by the still more flattering following letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty.

Cowes.

Dear Sir,—As I perceive by the returns from the Admiralty that your flag has been struck at Plymouth, I should feel that I was not discharging my duty if I abstained from returning you my best thanks for all your zealous exertions in the various services on which you have been employed since I have held my present situation. I have always felt great comfort on those occasions because I was confident whatever was assigned to you would be well done, and in no instance, however trivial, have my expectations been disappointed ; on the contrary they have been amply and satisfactorily fulfilled.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

MELVILLE.¹

Dec. 1815.—Without any solicitation on my part I was offered the situation of Comptroller of the Navy, which I held upwards of sixteen years, namely until October 1832.²

T. B. M.

SIR SAMUEL MARSHALL TO B. MARTIN.

London, 10th Aug., 1794.

My dear Sir,—I wrote you last Sunday under cover to Commissioner Harmood acquainting you of our most to be lamented loss of that best of men, your

¹ See vol. iii., p. 66.

² In reality 1831 ; see vol. iii., p. 262. The Navy Board was abolished in the following year.

honoured and adored father. I fear the exertions of his visits to Portsmouth and the extreme fatigues of the journey back (it being uncommonly hot) was too much for him; except one day, I never saw him well after; he was confined at home for about a week, most of that time I fear to his bed, but we had no apprehensions of immediate danger. On Wednesday, Warren¹ said he was infinitely better and that he would get better; but on Thursday night he was much worse, and to the irreparable loss of his family, the public, and his numerous respectable friends, he expired by four o'clock on Friday morning, August the 1st. You who so well knew how deservedly he was idolised by the beloved family can conceive their situation; Henry² fortunately was in town, Joe³ was at Portsmouth. When I found the imminent danger there was, express was sent to him and Mr. Byam Martin.⁴ Joe had left Portsmouth, and it was Saturday night before he got to town; Mr. Martin was with us early Friday morning. On Saturday morning Lady Martin and the family went to Lockinge, near Wantage, in Berks; Henry accompanied them to see them safely settled. Mr. Byam Martin left town Saturday noon, and Joe joined the mourners on Sunday. There surely never was a more revered character; and to evince how much he was respected by those men who composed the Board that he presided at, they in the most affectionate and attentive manner offered to attend the funeral as a body; but your dear father had desired to be decently and quietly interred. That last duty was paid him yesterday by your brother

¹ Dr. Richard Warren, the fashionable physician of the day. For several years before his death in 1797, he is said to have made the then phenomenal income of 9,000*l.*

² The eldest son, second baronet. ³ Josiah, the second son.

⁴ The Comptroller's brother, William Byam Martin.

and me, at Loughton, in Essex, about thirteen miles from town, a most retired and decent sanctuary.

I have been thus prolix as, however much I suffer in the relation, more must be theirs (if possible) of the family that should attempt the task, and which I hope they will not attempt. Joe is with them and gives me as favourable accounts as I can reasonably hope. Henry says he will go down for a few days in the middle of the week. Assuring yourself, my dear friend, of my most zealous attention and best offices, whenever I can be serviceable, and I hope they are perfectly satisfied of my being so, sincerely hoping this will reach you in health, and that honour and success may ever attend you, believe me,

Your very sincere and faithful
friend and servant,
S. MARSHALL.

Captain Martin.

BY AM MARTIN TO [? LADY MARTIN]¹

Artois,² Plymouth, March 9th, 1795.

My dear Madam,—I wrote to you on our arrival at this port, and promised to give you an account of our excursion on the coast of France, but have been prevented doing so owing to a slight fever that has confined me to my bed for a day or two. I am now, thank God, perfectly recovered.

Sir John Warren's letter, which is in the 'Gazette,' will explain to you the full extent of our success. The misfortune which happened to the

¹ Wife of his brother Henry, second baronet.

² B. Martin was appointed acting captain of the Artois during the absence of Captain Nagle from sickness, and this letter probably refers to some of the numerous attacks on convoys by Sir J. B. Warren's squadron. Cf. *ante*, p. 247.

Anson prevented us making very large fortunes, for being obliged to assist her led us away from a convoy that consisted of 200 sail, under the protection of three corvettes. I have been dreadfully alarmed about one of my prizes, and men, supposed to be taken or lost; however, I have just received an express from Falmouth mentioning her safe arrival. She is the most valuable of all, being laden with sugar, pepper, cloth, tea, 20 hogsheads of indigo—the whole supposed to be worth £12,000; the rest of the prizes, 9 in all, will fetch a little. The sum total will not be anything considerable.

I have received an extremely polite letter from Lord Spencer in answer to one I wrote him; he promises to give me everything I wish as soon as possible, and is by no means displeased at my having requested to remain in Sir J. Warren's squadron, which I did by desire of Sir J. Warren.

I expect to leave the Artois every day, and shall therefore soon see you in London.

My love to all at home and to Mr. and Mrs. Bastard.¹

Yours most truly affectionate,
T. B. MARTIN.

MR. BARRINGTON TO THE DOWAGER LADY MARTIN.

11 Holles Street, October 15th, 1795.

Dear Madam,—I have the pleasure to transmit to you, for your son, Captain Byam Martin, a gold-headed cane—which was left to him by our dear departed friend, the late Sir Samuel Marshall, in a codicil of his will, in the following words:

‘I give my gold-headed cane, which was originally Lord Keppel’s, and was given to me by the family

¹ His sister Judith married their son in 1809.

of my dear friend the late Sir Henry Martin, Comptroller of the Navy, unto Captain Byam Martin, of his Majesty's ship, Santa Margarita, son of the late Sir Henry. Witness my hand this 23rd September, 1795.

'(Signed) S. MARSHALL.'

Mrs. Barrington¹ unites with me in best regards to you and family. I am happy to say she is as well as can be expected in her situation, and under such trying circumstances.

I remain, dear Madam,

Yours very truly,

J. BARRINGTON.

P.S.—I hope to be able to leave town Monday.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WILLIAMS TO VICE-ADMIRAL KINGSMILL.

[Public Record Office : Admiralty, Secretary, In letters 613.]

Unicorn at sea, 10th June, 1796.
Holyhead ESE, dist. 8 leagues.

Sir,—I have the honour to lay before you a narrative of the proceedings of the squadron under my command since my departure from Cork on the 19th ult. On the following day, in consequence of my having received intelligence of the enemy's privateers being on the coast to the northward of Cape Clear, I despatched his Majesty's sloop Hazard with orders to Lieutenant Parker, her commander, to cruise between the Cape and the mouth of the Shannon, while I, for the more effectual protection of our trade, cruised, with the Santa Margarita, in the vicinity of Cape Clear. I had the satisfaction a

¹ Daughter of Sir Samuel Marshall.

few days afterwards to learn that the Hazard had retaken two prizes and had chased the privateer off the coast that captured them, after a narrow escape from being taken. On the 5th inst., having met with other ships of the Irish station cruising for the protection of the coast, I concluded upon making a circuit on the outer limits of my prescribed station, accompanied by the Santa Margarita, and at dawn of day on the 8th inst., Scilly bearing $E\frac{1}{2}S$, 17 leagues, we discovered three ships of war on our lee beam, distant two or three miles, to which we immediately gave chase, and soon afterwards perceived them to edge away, and that they were enemy's ships, two frigates and a large ship corvette. At 9 A.M. they formed themselves in a close bow and quarter line, and continued to run from us in that position, the largest ship under easy sail for the support of his squadron. In this situation we approached them very fast, and must have speedily brought them to action. I therefore made the signal to form for battle, the Margarita being at this time ahead of the Unicorn, and at the same time directed her by signal to come within hail, to learn from Captain Martin his opinion of the enemy's force, who informed me that the largest ship was a 38-gun frigate, the Thames,¹ and a corvette. I ordered Captain Martin to attack the Thames, acquainting him with my intention to fight the largest ship with the Unicorn. On our nearer approach, the corvette, which detained the other ships, gradually hauled out to windward and passed our weather beam in long gun-shot, steering afterwards the same course as the other ships, and with the intention—I then imagined—to be in readiness to give support to either of her friends eventually

¹ As the Thames, she had been captured in 1793 (James's *Naval History*, vol. i., p. 121), but was now the French frigate Tamise.

most needing it. At 1 P.M. the two frigates hoisted French colours, the largest ship a commodore's pennant, and at the same moment commenced a quick and well-directed fire on us with their stern-chases ; the corvette at this time hauled more up, and, to my great astonishment, brought to,¹ to board a sloop passing us on the contrary tack. As the commodore continued to wait for the Thames, we thereby approached them both, but were considerably retarded by the effects of their shot. At 4 P.M. the Thames, being the sternmost ship, bore round up to avoid the fire from the Unicorn and to pour a broadside into the Margarita's bow, when I had the pleasure to see Captain Martin manœuvre his ship with the greatest judgment, and with the utmost gallantry he laid himself close alongside his opponent. The superior and well-directed fire from the Santa Margarita marked the discipline of his ship, and which soon put the Thames into his possession. The commodore, on seeing his companion fall, made all sail, and by a sudden and judicious, though unsuccessful, manœuvre endeavoured to gain the wind of the Unicorn. We were at this time chasing him towards the entrance of the Irish Channel and soon after passed close to the Tusker rock. The parity of sailing in the two ships, aided by the judgment of the enemy's commander, kept us at running fight for ten hours, during which period we were much annoyed in our sails and rigging and were for some time unluckily deprived [of] the use of our main topsail ; but on its falling less wind after dark we were enabled to use our supernumerary flying sails, royal steering sails, &c., which by slow degrees brought us so near his weather quarter as to take the wind from his sails,

¹ She now parted company, but was picked up on 22nd June by the frigates Apollo and Doris.

when, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 at night, after having pursued 210 miles, we shot up alongside of our antagonist, gave him three cheers and commenced close action, which had continued in that position, with great impetuosity on both sides, for 35 minutes, when, on clearing up of the smoke, I observed that the enemy had dropped on our quarter, was close-hauled, attempting, by a masterly manœuvre, to cross our stern and gain the wind. This was happily prevented by our instantly throwing all aback and giving the ship strong sternway, by which we passed his bow, regained our situation and renewed the attack. The effects of our fire soon put an end to all manœuvre, for the enemy's ship was completely dismantled ; her fire ceased and all further resistance appeared to be ineffectual ; they called to us they had surrendered.

The ship proves to be *la Tribune*, commanded by Commodore John Moulston,¹ mounting 44 guns though pierced for 48 ; on the main-deck 26 twelves, on the quarter-deck and forecastle 16 long sixes and [two] 42-lb. carronades ; had on board at the commencement of the action 337 men, 37 of whom are killed, 13 badly and two slightly wounded. The ship is quite new, launched since the commencement of the war, sails extremely fast, is of large dimensions, being, on the gun-deck, 2 feet broader and 13 feet longer than the *Unicorn*. Commodore Moulston, who, I am sorry to add, is among the wounded, is by birth an American, but has served 16 years in the French navy, and during the present war has always had the command of a division. The squadron late under his orders, consisting of *la Tribune*, *la Proserpine*, *la Thames* and *la Légère* of 20 nine-pounders, had left Brest two days only :

¹ Troude spells this name Moulton.

had taken nothing : la Proserpine¹ separated the preceding evening in a fog. I will not attempt to find words to convey to you, Sir, the sense I feel of the conduct of the officers and ship's company under my command ; for if it was possible for me to say anything that could add to the glory of British seamen, I have ample field for so doing in the situation I held this day. Indeed, nothing less than the confidence of the most gallant support from them and the high opinion I entertained of the Santa Margarita, our second, could induce me to risk an action with a force apparently so much our superior ; and while I congratulate myself upon the happy effects of their valour in the capture of two of the enemy's frigates, that has done so much mischief to our commerce during the war, and on their present cruise were likely to do so much more, you may easily conceive what my feelings are when I inform you, Sir, this service is obtained without the loss of one of the brave men in the ship under my command ; my happiness will be complete if I find the Santa Margarita has been equally fortunate.

In justice to the officers of the Unicorn, I must beg of you to recommend to the notice of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, my first and second lieutenants, Messrs. Palmer and Taylor, Mr. Quayle the master, and Lieutenant Hart of the marines. I had great reason to regret the absence of Mr. Carpenter, the third lieutenant, of 2 mates and some of my best seamen who were, the evening before, put on board a valuable ship from Surinam ; but the able assistance I should have derived from Lieutenant Carpenter I was made to feel the less by the exertion of Mr. Collier, the purser, who voluntarily offered and undertook to supply his

¹ She was captured five days later, 13th June, by the Dryad, Captain Lord Amelius Beauclerk (James, vol. i., p. 369).

place to the best of his abilities, and whose name I beg you to include in your recommendations to their lordships.

We are now using our utmost exertions to put the Unicorn and her shattered prize in a condition to proceed to Cork.

I have the honour to be, . . .

THO. WILLIAMS.¹

Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Ireland.

BYAM MARTIN TO VICE-ADMIRAL KINGSMILL.

[P.R.O.: Adm., Sec., In letters, 613.]

Sta. Margarita at sea, 11th June, 1796.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that on the 7th inst., being in company with his Majesty's ship Unicorn, 18 leagues west of Scilly, we discovered at 2 o'clock in the morning three sail of ships about a mile on our lee beam; as the day opened we perceived them to be frigates belonging to the French nation, which I communicated to Captain Williams by signal, who immediately made sail to join me, and on his near approach made our signal to pass within hail for the purpose of giving him information of the enemies' force. The statement of their superiority encouraged him in his eager pursuit, having said that he would attack the largest ship, and desiring me to engage the next in strength; this noble example inspired every person with a confidence of success, and each ship steered for her opponent; but the enemy, determined to evade an action, steered away large under a press of sail, the smallest ship at the same time making off to wind-

¹ Captain Williams died in 1841, an admiral and K.C.B.

ward. At half-past 11 o'clock by our superior sailing we arrived within gunshot of the enemy, but as they appeared to close for the mutual support of each other, and the Unicorn being some distance astern, I judged it prudent to postpone our attack till she was sufficiently advanced to occupy the attention of the French commodore. At this time the enemy commenced a fire from their stern chase guns. At 1 o'clock, having approached them within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, we fired our bow guns whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself, the enemy at the same time yawing to discharge their broadsides. At 2 o'clock the Unicorn, being on our weather beam, we made sail, keeping up a running fight till $\frac{1}{4}$ past 4 o'clock, when the sternmost ship, finding it impossible to escape, put his helm a-port and endeavoured to rake us, but, being fortunately baffled in this effort, afforded us an opportunity of placing ourselves abreast of him within pistol-shot, when a quick and well-directed fire compelled him to surrender to his Majesty's ship in less than 20 minutes. She proved to be the Thames, commanded by Citoyen Fradin, mounting 36 guns and 306 men. The ship which the Unicorn continued in chase of is la Tribune, of 40 guns and 320 men, bearing the broad pennant, Citoyen Moulson,¹ commander of a division; the other, which made off to windward, is la Légère, of 24 guns and 180 men. I am glad to observe our loss is very disproportionate to the enemy, having only two seamen killed and the boatswain and two seamen wounded, and hers 32 killed and 19 wounded: many of the latter have since died.

It is with extreme pleasure I seek the present opportunity of testifying my gratitude to the officers

¹ A third way of spelling this name. It is impossible now to say which is correct.

and ship's company for their active zeal and steady unanimity at all times and in all situations, but more particularly in the capture of the Thames, on which occasion their courage and exemplary conduct is worthy of the greatest praise. The readiness of Mr. Harrison, the first lieutenant, and his prompt execution of my orders, did essentially facilitate our success. It is my sincere wish to particularise each individual, but where general merit claims the greatest approbation, to discriminate becomes a difficult task.

In addition to the officers and ship's company may I also be permitted to beg you will offer to the consideration of the Admiralty the meritorious conduct of Captain Joseph Bullen,¹ a master and commander in the navy, serving in the Santa Margarita as a volunteer by permission from Lord Spencer. His desire to have some active employment induced me to beg he would assist in the management of the main-deck guns, as I well knew that his long services and approved courage in various situations would be a proper example to the younger part of the ship's company.

I have, &c.,

T. B. MARTIN.

LORD SPENCER TO B. MARTIN.

Admiralty, July 5th, 1796.

Sir,—If Lieutenant James had been of longer standing as a lieutenant than he is, I should certainly have allowed him to rise to the situation become vacant by the promotion of your former first lieutenant, but as that would have been impossible

¹ See vol. iii., pp. 283-4.

consistently with the usual practice of the service,¹ I placed Mr. Birchall there, who has been recommended to me very strongly, and who, I have no doubt, will give you entire satisfaction. I cannot avoid taking this opportunity of congratulating you on your success in retaking the Thames, and on the great credit you and your officers and ship's company have deservedly gained by the manner in which that service was performed.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient, humble servant,
SPENCER.

THE COMMITTEE OF SHIPPING TO B. MARTIN.

18 Cornhill, London, July 14, 1796.

Captain Martin,

Sir,—We are desired by the gentlemen of the Committee of Shipping for encouragement of French Captures, to request you will inform us what piece or pieces of plate will be most agreeable to you to do them the honour of accepting in re-

¹ Which was, that although an officer was then eligible to command a fine frigate at 23 years of age, as Martin was doing, it was necessary for his second in command to be of seven years' standing as a lieutenant, and therefore at least 27 years of age. In those days of political jobbery every appointment appears to have been made by the first lord. Of the modern tendency in the same direction, Lord Clarence Paget, after seven years' experience as Secretary of the Admiralty, wrote: 'It has been calculated that 9,000 individuals of the officer class depend wholly on the fiat of the First Lord of the Admiralty for their advance in life. What a political engine in a country like ours! Each of these persons exercises more or less influence in the districts with which he or his family may be connected. . . . Whether peer or commoner, this enormous patronage is unconstitutional and unwholesome, both for the minister as well as the public.'—*Autobiography of Lord Clarence Paget*, p. 363.

membrance of your late gallant conduct,¹ which every loyal British subject most truly admires, and none more than,

Sir,
Your obedient servants,
HAYNES & KENTISH.

As soon as we are favoured with your answer we shall immediately put it in execution.

*CAPTAIN POLE² TO THE DOWAGER
LADY MARTIN.*

Carnatic, Saints, West Indies, August 2nd, 1796.

My dear Lady Martin,—I cannot suffer a packet to sail without expressing to you and yours how sincerely I congratulate you all on the very noble conduct of the captain of the Margarita ; it must appear to the world, who are in general very good judges, as one of the most meritorious services ever performed by two frigates, and as such I trust it will be noticed by our rulers. If aught remained to convince Europe of the great superiority of our naval officers, Byam hath put it most effectually out of doubt. Would to God there was one present to participate in all our happiness on this occasion, but whatever is, we must hope is for the best. Pray make my best love and compliments acceptable to those around your table, and if a part is at Kitley, remember me in your letter, for I should feel mortified if any of your

¹ As shown in the capture of the Tamise, and also of several very active French privateers.

² Afterwards Admiral Sir C. Morice Pole, Chairman of the Commission appointed, at the instance of Lord St. Vincent, to inquire into the abuses in the civil department of the navy.

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family should think I could be satisfied with a silent participation of pleasure on an event which must be so gratifying to all.

I am, my dear Madam,
Most affectionately and devotedly yours,
CH. M. POLE.

Lady Martin, Gloucester Place, London.

MR. HARRISON¹ TO B. MARTIN.

Sir,—I am directed by Lord Spencer to acquaint you that you are this day appointed to the command of the *Tamar*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
JOHN HARRISON.

Admiralty, 7 December, 1796.

LORD SPENCER TO B. MARTIN.

The *Tamar* is one of the finest frigates in the navy,² and I hope your having the command of her will be the means of enabling you to pursue with success the course you have so fortunately begun, and entitle you to further distinction and credit.

I am, Sir, with great truth,
your very obedient, humble servant,
SPENCER.

Admiralty, December 18, 1796.

¹ Probably assistant private secretary.

² The *Tamar* was built of fir, which was not considered as good for a fighting ship as oak. She was a remarkably good sailor; see vol. iii. 289.

LORD SPENCER TO B. MARTIN.

Sir,—At a time when it is very well known how great a number of officers are soliciting to be removed into frigates of the largest class, it must be evident that my removing you unasked was meant to show you a distinguished preference, and had it not been too late to make any alteration in the arrangement without admitting a principle which cannot be admitted, that it is a hardship on an officer to be ordered to any station where active service is going on, I should really have been very happy to have allowed you to return to your former ship. I am sorry that you find the *Tamar* (which I was led to suppose one of the finest frigates in the Service) of uncertain qualities, and her company of the description you mention. I trust, however, that your activity will soon remedy the latter defect, and that when you are better acquainted with the ship, you will find her answer the expectations which everyone had formed of her. The *Clyde* is reported to answer very well, and is the sister ship to her.

You may rest assured that it will give me great satisfaction whenever I have it in my power to show you any mark of attention, and I may perhaps on some other occasion be more fortunate in meeting your wishes.

I am, Sir,
your very obedient, humble servant,
SPENCER.

Admiralty, 14 January, 1797.

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REAR-ADmirAL HARVEY TO B. MARTIN.

Prince of Wales, [off Porto Rico], April 27th, 1797.¹

Dear Sir,—The General is of opinion that the firing from the Tamar, the 25th in the evening, towards the white battery, had a good effect, and that your shot lodged on the island and occasioned some terror to the working party. You will therefore take the earliest opportunity to stand in with your division, and direct such fire as you think may be of service towards the white battery, or to annoy the working party, that are employed between that battery and St. Christopher Castle; at the same time you will take care not to approach so near as to endanger your ship either from the reef or any heavy fire they may be able to throw on you. The Bellona and Vengeance got under way yesterday, but the pilots would not take them near enough for their shot to have effect. We shall be able to judge from your efforts whether they may be able to effect any service in the same way by another trial.

I am, dear Sir,
your very humble servant,
HENRY HARVEY.

[This letter from the commander-in-chief, Sir H. Harvey, was written when I had the command of the blockading squadron off the harbour of St. John, Porto Rico. The white battery was to windward of my station, and had effectually checked the advance of the general. Sir Ralph Abercromby observing that the Bellona and Vengeance when sent to attack this battery did not approach within gunshot,

¹ The expedition under Rear-Admiral Henry Harvey and Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby which added the valuable island of Trinidad to British possessions. It was, however, unsuccessful in the attempt on Porto Rico.

I thought it might be from want of nerve in the pilot, and as the *Tamar* drew less water I stood in the next day to give my men and my squadron a day of practice, and in the hope that it might enable our army to advance. This battery was defended throughout the whole siege with the utmost bravery, and was the principal cause of the failure of the expedition. Out of about 3,500 men, 400 deserted of Hompesch's regiment.]—T. B. M.

DOWAGER LADY MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.

Saturday, [? October 28th,] 1797.

My dear Henry,—Supposing the letters brought by the Custom House messenger could only relate to Joe's business I opened them, for which I hope you will excuse me. I wish you could oblige Mr. Styles by an application to Admiral Young. I am sure Styles deserves attention, particularly at this time, and all our friends at this board deserve our attentions. The Kellys are remarkable kind ; my gratitude shall ever be shown to them. A letter from Lady Gillman full of joy at the victory over the Dutch ;¹ the Irish feel relieved from all apprehensions and are extravagant in their joy. The moment that the news arrived and fear subsided, they (Gillmans) gave up the thoughts of a winter's voyage that Kingsmill would have sent them in a frigate. I believe he will ask to have Sir Thomas Williams or Byam ; do you think the latter would wish it ? I hear that Onslow is to remain at Yarmouth with a small squadron. The King² certainly goes to St.

¹ Camperdown, October 11, 1797.

² To give thanks to God for our victories on 1st June, 1794 ; Cape St. Vincent, 14th February, 1797 ; Camperdown, 11th

Paul's Church and places the flags of the three last naval victories in that church. A gentleman at the levee heard him tell the Lord Mayor so. It will be a fine sight and please the people. If we can rise early enough we go to see the King embark at Greenwich on Monday next; we shall accept Lady Hood's invitation.¹—*Imperfect.*

*THE MERCHANTS OF ANTIGUA TO
B. MARTIN.*

Saint John's, Antigua, 26th February, 1798.

Sir,—Accident has denied us the pleasure of sooner announcing to you that the merchants of this place have unanimously resolved to request your acceptance of a piece of plate, as a merited testimony of the high esteem and justly grateful sense they entertain of your great exertions and indefatigable zeal in the service of your King and country, particularly in annoying and destroying the privateers of the enemy, and thereby protecting our commercial interests during your command of his Majesty's ship *Tamar* in these seas.

We now have requested Anthony Brown and Josiah Martin, Esquires, to procure and present the same. Our friends and brethren in this small community are proud in the confidence that you will not refuse this mark of their regard, and we still more so in having the honour to convey their sentiments,

October, 1797. The thanksgiving was held at St. Paul's, December 14th, 1797. Of the flags, only one—a Spanish—now exists. The others seem to have been thrown out as dirty lumber.

¹ Lord Hood was the Governor of Greenwich Hospital. This seems to refer to the King's intention of going to visit Admiral Duncan on board the *Venerable* at the Nore. He embarked on Monday, October 30th, but a foul wind and dirty weather prevented his getting down the river, and on the Tuesday he returned to town.

in which we cordially join, and beg leave to say we are, with much personal esteem and regard, Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servants,

JOHN SMITH,
CAMPBELL BROWN,
JOHN TAYLOR,
THOMAS SCOTLAND.

Captain T. B. Martin,
of his Majesty's ship *Dictator*.

ADMIRAL SIR W. YOUNG TO B. MARTIN.

Admiralty, 6th August, 1798.

Dear Sir,—I have heard of the attachment you mention, and very heartily congratulate you on the prospect of being so soon united to one of so very amiable a family as the Commissioner's.¹ I have not the pleasure of knowing the one who is mistress of your heart; but as I hear that in all good qualities she resembles those I do know, I rejoice in the good prospect of happiness you have before you. I desire you would present her my best respects and say that, trusting I was doing an acceptable thing to her, I have obtained your being immediately superseded. A commission for the *Dictator* goes down by this post to Captain Cooke. Remember me particularly to the Commissioner and his family.

I am, dear Sir,
Very truly yours,
W. YOUNG.

[This letter from the late Sir W. Young was on the occasion of my marriage.]—T. B. M.

¹ Commissioner Fanshawe, in charge of Devonport Dock yard.

*LORD BRIDPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF
THE ADMIRALTY.*

[P.R.O. Adm., Sec., In letters 111.]

Royal George, Spithead, 24th October.

Sir,—The enclosed copy of a letter which I received this morning will manifest to their lordships the courage, skill, and intrepidity of Captain Martin, his officer and ship's company, in the capture of the French frigate l'Immortalité, after a persevering and brilliant action against a ship of such superior force.

I am, Sir, &c.,
BRIDPORT.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

(Enclosing)

BY AM MARTIN TO LORD BRIDPORT.

Fisgard, Plymouth Sound,
22 October, 1798.

My Lord,—In compliance with your order of the 17th inst. I proceeded with all possible despatch to the southward, and on the 20th inst., having arrived in lat. $48^{\circ} 23'$ N, long. 7° W, I had the satisfaction to fall in with a large French frigate, and after an hour's running fight, came to close action with her, which lasted for 25 minutes, when the Fisgard became perfectly ungovernable, the bowlines, braces, topsail ties, backstays, and the whole of the running rigging being cut to pieces. At this critical moment she endeavoured to make off, but the activity of the officers and ship's company in repairing the damages and making sail, soon enabled us to close with her again and the fight was renewed, and continued with great spirit and resolution for an

hour and fifty minutes, when she surrendered to his Majesty's ship and proved to be *l'Immortalité*, a new frigate, mounting forty-two guns (24-pounders) on the main-deck and 9-pounders with 42-pounder carronades on the quarter-deck and forecastle, commanded by Citizen Legrand, who was killed in the action.

She was one of the squadron that composed the expedition to Ireland, and at the commencement of the action had on board 580 men, including General Ménage, second in command of the troops, who was also killed in the action, Adjutant-General Cravey, and some soldiers.

I should wish to recommend the steady good conduct of Mr. Carden,¹ first lieutenant of the *Fisgard*, on this occasion, but not to the prejudice of any other person, as every officer and man on board behaved with that courage and intrepidity which at all times distinguishes his Majesty's subjects in the presence of the enemy. Annexed is a list of killed and wounded. I am sorry to say thirteen of our wounded men have suffered so much as to preclude all hope of their recovery.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
T. B. MARTIN.

Fisgard :	killed 10, wounded 25	Total 35.
Immortalité : Officers	10	
Men	44	61—Total 115.

P.S.—I learn from the adjutant-general and second captain of the ship that *le Hoche*, a French ship of the line, and three frigates were captured by

¹ John Surman Carden, promoted to commander's rank 25th October, 1798, and posted 22nd January, 1806. He afterwards commanded the *Macedonian*, when she was captured by the U.S. ship *United States*, on 25th October, 1812, and died a retired admiral in 1858.

a squadron¹ of his Majesty's ship off Donegal Bay, on the 14th inst. As I am uncertain where this letter will find your lordship, I have judged it necessary to send a copy of it to the Admiralty. The Fisgard will require some days to make good her defects, but your lordship may rely on every exertion being made.

FRENCH NOTE ON THE ACTION.

(*Translated.*)

'The manœuvres of the Fisgard were essentially faulty. She ought not to have passed abreast of the French frigate ; and instead of running to leeward, she ought—whilst keeping the weather gage—to have shivered her mizen or main topsail, so as to let the French frigate go past her, and then to have kept away into her wake, firing her starboard broadside into her stern. By this very common manœuvre the Fisgard would have killed a great many men and dismounted some of the guns on the main-deck. But by passing to leeward, as she did, she ran the risk of being laid on board, and must have sustained much loss from the port broadside of the French frigate. I conclude by saying that the victory of the Fisgard was due to nothing but the bad manœuvring of the French captain, who persisted in steering his course, instead of endeavouring, according to the circumstances, to hinder the enemy taking up advantageous positions, and profiting by the favourable opportunity which the English frigate seemed to offer when so many of her sails were cut to pieces. I leave the English who read this to judge from the positions which I have drawn.'

¹ Under the command of Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren.

He gives twelve positions of the two ships, which are not worth publishing, as it is inconceivable that a lieutenant who was doing his duty at the guns could have had an opportunity of making notes of this kind. They are at variance with James's account, and Troude's story is different from both. Martin gives no account beyond his official letter. The diagrams of single actions are not often trustworthy ; and in this case three accounts are discordant.

[These rough papers were left on my cabin table by a lieutenant of the French frigate l'Immortalité the day after the capture of that ship, and the day before he was landed as a prisoner. I make no doubt his comments are in some respects—perhaps generally—correct, but as the proof of the pudding is in the taste, so the capture of the French frigate may serve as the answer to those who complain of the mode of doing it.]—T. B. M.

DOWAGER LADY MARTIN TO MISS S. MARTIN.

Friday, [October 26th, 1798].

My dear Sarah,—I am glad to retire to my bed-chamber at night and there sit up to think with delight of my dearest Byam's conduct, and the applause bestowed on his account upon myself at the Drawing Room yesterday. I received such marks of attention the particulars would not be contained on this paper ; as far as I can recollect and abridge I will. Having an autumn dress ready I went with Lady Campbell, as dresses could not be prepared for your sisters. We got to the door of the presence chamber where the Queen was, and she immediately addressed me about Worthing, &c. &c. &c.—very civil, but not a word of Byam. Lady Pembroke behind her cried out, 'Lady Martin, I congratulate you on Captain Martin's success.' The Queen

turned round and Mr. Pitt had stepped before me, to whom she could not avoid speaking ; and Lady Pembroke told me she was provoked Miss Martin stayed so long in Devonshire. We were then squeezed from our post and went round to the King's side. All the royalty were present in the collars of their orders. The Duke of Clarence then had a long conversation and warmly expressed how highly my son's conduct deserved applause. I told him he had been brought up under his Royal Highness ; he made a low bow and laughed, saying I flattered him highly. He knew Byam was married ; hoped his wife was more good-humoured than her father. I said his appearance might be so, but he was not so in fact. He acknowledges that he was an excellent man, that he had lent Byam a house, and that his sisters had been with him. The Prince of Wales made me a bow—I only saw his head in the crowd ; it opened to make way for the Duke of York, and we followed close after. He (the King) addressed Lady Campbell, fixing his eyes on me and Commissioner Harmood who was next me ; he then began, 'Lady M., you have reason to be proud of your son, he has fought one of the best actions this war.' I sunk as low as I could, saying I was happy his Majesty approved of his conduct. He said 'Indeed it was very great (turning to Harmood), and to have taken *two* frigates at so early an age—I believe he is little more than 24.' I replied, Not much more. Then he talked to Harmood of some particulars of the action, and that it was soon after his sailing. I then observed that he was unacquainted with the properties of his ship and also had new men. He said, 'Very true: under such circumstances it would have puzzled the oldest officer.' Harmood came up to me afterwards and he was much pleased with my having, at so good an

opening, mentioned what I did, and that I was as collected as if I knew what his Majesty would say. This approbation gave me, as you will suppose, pleasure. We were next in a line with the three youngest princesses, who all in a voice congratulated me, and Princess Mary said, 'Was not Captain Martin with Captain Hood when you came to Weymouth to see us?' I said, Yes; and Princess Elizabeth said, 'How wonderful for so young a man to have taken two such large prizes!' The youngest said, How proud I ought to be, and to have him safe and his prize. After they had passed on, the space was filled by the Prince of Orange, who said he could 'not resist the pleasure of offering his congratulations on the naval achievements of my son, who had immortalised the name of Martin.' All this from a prince I did not know before. Many that I had never spoken to came up making speeches. All [I] knew pushed for [me]. Lady Carmarthen, at the back of the Princess of Wales, made signs that she could not come, and [I] went to her. She said a great deal, and begged I would show her 'my hero,' and wondered, as many others did, that he was not present. She and most people asked where you all were. While I was talking to Captain Popham, Lady Campbell sat talking to Lady Charlotte Bruce, and attempted coming to me, but Lady C. said, 'Don't you see how happy she is hearing the praises of her son? Pray, do introduce me.' They both came, saying what had passed. I told her ladyship that if she had known what charming creatures sea officers were she would like them as well as Lady C. and I did. She said, 'Indeed you know, Lady C., I do admire them;' and turning to me assured me the Royal Family bestowed the highest commendation on Captain Martin in private.

I have laid down my pen to read such a letter

from Lord Hood ; the quotation is from Lord Bridport's letter as follows : ' I am now to tell your lordship that Captain Martin, of the Fisgard, has taken the Immortalité of 42 guns and had on board 580 men, after one of the most brilliant single actions that ever adorned the naval page of England's history. His letter and mine will appear in the next " Gazette. "

' I detached the Fisgard on the 17th instant upon information of a large privateer in latitude—far to the westward. He has done his duty well, and his fame is established for ever.'

Lord Hood concludes with his lady's congratulations to me and the hero's sisters. I must answer his lordship immediately. God bless all my dear children and my dearest friends at Kitley ; they share largely the happiness of myself and family. Adieu, my dear Sarah and Anne.

I am your affectionate mother,
E. A. M.

DOWAGER LADY CHATHAM TO B. MARTIN.

Burton Pynsent, October 27th, 1798.

Sir,—I venture to trouble you with an humble request that I have received from a lad¹ on board your ship, the son of a servant of mine. I believe I may trust that he has spirit and courage enough, which fortunately may render him deserving of being among the crew that have the honour of being under your command. He has engaged me to petition you for a fortnight or three weeks' leave of absence, to visit his father and mother at Burton, who will be made the happiest of creatures by seeing him.

¹ William Hopkins.

I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of expressing my congratulations on the glorious success of the Fisgard, which I beg you will accept.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
HESTER CHATHAM.¹

To Captain Martin, of his Majesty's ship Fisgard, Plymouth Dock.

LORD BRIDPORT TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private.*]

Cricket Lodge, October 29th, 1798.

Dear Sir,—I have received your letter transmitting the damages the Fisgard sustained in the action with the *Immortalité*, which occasions her going into Hamoaze, and the being docked to repair them, which appears to be absolutely necessary.

I am convinced you will lose no time, as far as the same may depend upon you, in getting your ship ready for sea, and I shall rejoice when you can again carry her into service, for your own sake as well as for the advantage of the public.

I am obliged to you for naming Mr. Henderson in your appointment of agents, which cannot but meet with my approbation, as I am well acquainted with Mr. Cooke and Mr. Lockyer. You see that the Cambrian has also been successful, and I have no doubt but other captures will fall well to her share in the course of her cruise, as the enemy have many large privateers at sea. I am glad you had an opportunity of delivering my letter to Captain Legge.

Allow me to trouble you with my best compliments to Mrs. Martin and her friends in the dock-

¹ Widow of the great Lord Chatham.

yard, and with real esteem and regard. I am, dear
Sir, your faithful friend and
obedient humble servant,
BRIDPORT.

Captain Martin.

Memorandum

[Not dated, about ? 1835.]

The King told a friend of mine after the capture
of l'Immortalité, that I never wrote to tell him of
any good fortune that came in my way, and I was
the only one of his old shipmates who lost any
opportunity of doing so. I could only say that no
part of his conduct ever led me to suppose he took
the least interest about me.

Endorsed.—William IV condescends to speak
of my *slight* of him.

A fragment cut off from a letter: unsigned.

[I send] 'you an impromptu I wrote on the occa-
sion, as I knew the subject must be interesting to a
mother's feelings.'

*To Captain T. B. Martin, upon his taking the French frigate
l'Immortalité.*

The Thames, by you, to England's King restor'd,
Entwined a laurel round your maiden sword ;
But this last trophy, won upon the sea,
Makes you partake of Immortality !'

LORD SPENCER TO B. MARTIN.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt (to-day)
of your letter of the 22nd November, and am very
glad to see so good an account of Mr. Robert

Fanshawe's¹ conduct. I have set down his name for a lieutenant's commission, and will take an early opportunity of giving him one.

I am, Sir,
your very obedient, humble servant,
SPENCER.

Admiralty, 4 December, 1799.

LORD BRIDPORT TO B. MARTIN.

Harley Street, May 28th, 1800.

Dear Sir,—Though I am just setting out with Lady Bridport to make a visit in Cambridgeshire, I cannot let a post go out from hence without thanking you for the obliging contents of your friendly letter of the 25th instant, directed to my house in the country.

It will always give me the most pleasing satisfaction in knowing from you, as well as from all who served under my command in the Channel fleet, that the King's service was carried on with activity and correct discipline, on their part as well as on mine, for the advantage of the public and interest of the nation, and I trust that your future services will be attended with success, and all possible feelings of content. Allow me in this hasty scrawl to request that you will make my best compliments and good wishes to all who shall do me the honour to inquire after me, and you will have the goodness to present Lady Bridport's and my best regards to the Commissioner's whole family. And with real esteem,

I am, dear Sir,
your sincere and faithful humble servant,
BRIDPORT.

¹ A son of the Commissioner, brother-in-law of B. Martin.

I carried Captain White to the levee this morning, and presented him to the King. You will soon see him, I believe, at Plymouth, where his heart is.¹ I have much to say on the subject of the word resignation, which was never made by me, or even hinted at conditionally in a private letter to Lord Spencer.²

SIR J. WARREN TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private.*] Renown, off Penmark Point, June 15th, 1800.

My dear Martin,—I must mention to you that one of the principal objects of your present enterprise is the capture of the enemy's convoy, or its destruction by fire, as I am directed particularly to cut off convoys or destroy them; therefore after the boats have secured one or two of the armed vessels, the next should push on to the convoy and cut the cables, and bring out as many of the largest as they can, by which time you would be up to support them. If the large ship could be carried and brought out before daylight comes on it would be a capital stroke and crown you with laurels. Wishing you the protection of Providence and every success, which I really think you will meet with, I remain, ever sincerely yours,

J. B. WARREN.

P.S.—I shall be in towards six in the morning, and stand up as high as I can on the west side the Glenans³ and drop an anchor to assist all we can.

¹ He married Cordelia, a younger sister of Mrs. B. Martin.

² It would appear from this that Lord Bridport's resignation of the command was neither voluntary nor agreeable to him.

³ Islands to the SE of Penmark Point.

Success attend you. Pray keep the boats on the lee side with a boom out or something to prevent the enemy seeing them.

SIR J. WARREN TO B. MARTIN.

Private.] Renown, Sunday, June 22nd, 1800.

My dear Martin,—I trust after your ship is at an anchor that you will take Barry with you into old Nercy's cutter,¹ who is desirous of going with you or the schooner,² to assist and direct the vessels near the harbour. As to the boats, I have given a sketch of the river and directions how to bring anything out, if they should be so fortunate as to take anything.

Let me above all request that you will order the marine officer who is the senior and commander, to destroy the guns at each battery and come off immediately to their boats, and on no account to straggle a foot into the country or to have any firing if it can be avoided, but if any push is made it should be with the bayonet only: if they retreat or are in their boats, as much firing as they please. During this, the boats destined for the attack of the corvettes and convoy should push up and board, and cut away and run them without the river; the rest should be fired and destroyed. Your Honour must fix a signal of recall for all your boats and troops, but charge the boarders to lose as little time as possible and not to straggle, but come away as soon as they can.

I shall tow the boats until we are well in and then send them to you. There is a small field-piece carrying $4\frac{1}{2}$ that goes with our detachment ; I think when you have anchored Fisgard you may send three or four boats to join the six boarders, and may spare a jolly-boat in addition to the 6-oared cutter to

1 The Lord Nelson.

2 The Suwarrow.

the Suwarrow, that, with her own boat, all the marines may be landed at once.

Wishing every success and a plentiful crop of laurels, I am, my dear General,

Ever sincerely yours,
J. WARREN.

P.S.—Sunday hitherto has always been a lucky day to us, I trust in Heaven it will be so now.

SIR J. BORLASE WARREN TO LORD ST. VINCENT.

(*Extract.*)

July 2nd, 1800.

On the 1st instant, with Renown, Defence, Fisgard, and Lord Nelson cutter, I anchored in the Bay of Bourgneuf, and directed the boats of the squadron to follow Captain Martin's orders for their further proceedings; and I take the liberty of referring your lordship to the enclosed letter for a particular account of the transactions on the 1st and 2nd instant.

Although owing to an accident, a part of the men have been made prisoners and four wounded in their retreat upon this occasion, yet, from the loss the enemy has sustained, I hope the enterprise will merit your lordship's approbation, as well as the gallantry and presence of mind displayed by Lieutenant Burke upon the above critical service, with the zeal and bravery of the several officers and men employed under him, and I trust will recommend them to your lordship's¹ notice and protection.

¹ St. Vincent, in forwarding this letter, wrote of the affair as one 'of which I highly approve, and of the spirited conduct shown on the whole occasion.'

(*Enclosing*)

B. MARTIN TO SIR JOHN WARREN.

Fisgard at anchor in Bourgneuf Bay, 2 July, 1800.

Sir,—I beg to inform you the boats of the ships named in the margin¹ were formed into three divisions yesterday evening, under the directions of Lieutenant Burke, to attack the armed vessels and convoy laying within the sands in Bourgneuf Bay, moored in a strong position of defence, and under the protection of six heavy batteries at the SE point of Noirmoutier, besides flanking guns on every projecting point.

At 12 o'clock [midnight], after much resistance and considerable loss on the part of the enemy, we had possession of the La Thérèse, 4 armed vessels, and 15 sail of merchantmen, the whole of which were burnt on finding it impossible to bring them out; and this essential service would have been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner if the boats in returning could have found a passage over the sandbanks; but, unfortunately, they took the ground, and in less than ten minutes were perfectly dry; at the same time exposed to a continual fire from the forts and 400 French soldiers formed in their rear. But in opposition to this they determined to attack other vessels of the enemy and secure one sufficiently large to receive the party, which they did, and with great intrepidity, exertion, and strength, drew her upwards of two miles over the sand until they were up to their necks in water before she would float; but I am sorry to add that four officers and 88 of the valuable men employed in this glorious enterprise are prisoners, though from every report there are only a few wounded.

¹ Renown, Fisgard, Defence.

I sincerely congratulate you on having succeeded with so little loss in this important service, all the vessels being laden with corn and valuable cargoes much wanted for the fleet in Brest, and I am sure you will be highly gratified with the gallantry and uncommon perseverance manifested by officers and men upon this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. B. MARTIN.

Abstract.

[Vessels destroyed: La Thérèse, armed vessel of 20 guns; a lugger, 12 guns; two schooner gun-boats, each 12 guns; 1 cutter, 6 guns; fifteen sail of merchant vessels, all 'laden (as well as the armed vessels), with flour, corn, provisions, bale goods and ship-timber for the fleet at Brest.'

Force employed: 7 officers, 11 petty officers, 113 seamen, and 61 marines.

Taken prisoners: 1 officer, 4 petty officers,¹ 53 seamen, 34 marines: total 92.
100 forced a retreat.]

LORD SPENCER TO B. MARTIN.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th, and hope before much more time elapses to have to announce to you Mr. Fleming's promotion.²

I am, Sir,
your obedient, humble servant,
SPENCER.

Admiralty, 23rd July, 1800.

¹ Petty officers—most probably mates and midshipmen. Only two of the seamen belonged to the Fisgard. The one officer prisoner was Lieut. Ballinghall, of the Renown's marines.

² He was made a lieutenant on 2nd October.

*THE DOWAGER LADY MARTIN TO SIR
HENRY MARTIN.*

Monday morning [? 3rd November, 1800].¹

I have the satisfaction, my dear Henry, of being now with Byam and his excellent wife; they send their love to you and Lady Martin, wishing that you were of our party now. If you were here you would give me an account of the pretty frigate which Byam has not been on board nor does not seem to intend going, as he is very much hurried preparing for sea, though it seems impossible for him to go next Friday as ordered, as he has defects in his ship that must be made good, particularly in a mast. He and all the fleet are (with reason) outrageous with Lord St. Vincent; he hurries them so much, that the seamen, after their long cruises, are working night and day, and no time for them to get on shore. Byam acknowledges that he is very friendly to him when he sees him, and I have entreated him to check his inclination of abusing him.

I send a list of the prizes taken last cruise. In some of the ships sent in while under Sir John Warren was flour that sold for £1,600; the gum ship lately taken has four hundredweight of ivory besides 60,000 weight of gum. The Venus frigate² has five hundredweight of flour; as it was not for sale it is hoped it will not prevent head money. Byam and all his people agreed to give up their shares to the poor here, but Captain Curzon and Towry³ would not

¹ The Fisgard anchored in the Sound on Friday, 31st October, with a standing order not to remain more than a week at longest; but on the Saturday it was found that her foremast was badly sprung, and she really remained till Thursday, 27th November.

² Captured on October 22nd, by the Indefatigable (Captain Curzon) and Fisgard.

³ Of the Uranie.

consent ; Keats¹ and the other ships were willing to do so. Byam looks thin and complains of a pain in side at times, but eats two or three eggs in a morning and laughs with Joe as usual, and no creature can be more joyous with his wife, child, and family, and they live well. It answered to us to be here now, as the Kitley² family go to-day to Buckland³ to meet Lady Louisa ; Sarah and Anne go with them, but I brought them here on Saturday to see their brother and they went back yesterday, and Eliza and Lydia came ; we dine to-morrow at the Dockyard and the next day at the Admiral's. The Gillmans⁴ are well and have taken a house in Park Street, St. James's Square, Bath, where they are settled for six months. God bless you both.

E. A. M. [ELIZA ANNE MARTIN.]

B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS.

Fisgard, off Ferrol, August 15th, 1801.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that the Boadicea joined me on the 13th, and I have sent her off Cisarga to relieve the Nymph for the purpose of intercepting any vessels of the enemy that may be coming from the westward, while the Fisgard will cruise close off Ferrol, and prevent anything passing unobserved from the eastward.

I learn from several fishing boats that there is one line-of-battle ship, two frigates and a brig in Ferrol, but not fitting for sea. On the 11th I stood in to reconnoitre, and could only perceive a large

¹ Of the Boadicea.

² Near Plympton, the seat of the Bastard family.

³ Another seat on Dartmoor, near Ashburton.

⁴ Relations of her first husband.

merchant ship apparently ready to sail. In Corunna¹ there are two Spanish packets, an armed lugger and one gun-boat.

I beg to transmit a journal of my proceedings since that which I forwarded by the Oiseau, also a weekly account and list of vessels boarded.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
T. B. MARTIN.

Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS.

Fisgard, off Ferrol, August 21, 1801.

Sir,—I beg to inform you that last night the boats of his Majesty's ships Fisgard, Diamond, and Boadicea attacked the vessels of the enemy lying in the harbour of Corunna, and succeeded in bringing out El Neptuno, and a new ship pierced for twenty guns belonging to his Catholic Majesty, a gun-boat mounting a long 32-pounder, and a merchant ship which were moored within the strong batteries that protect the port, and so near them that the sentinels on the ramparts challenged our people, and immediately commenced a heavy fire, but the prizes were towed out with a degree of coolness and perseverance that does infinite credit to the officers and men, and can only be equalled by their good conduct throughout the affair. I should be very glad if it were in my power to do justice to the merits of Lieutenant Pipon, who directed this enterprise with much spirit and address; but the success which

¹ Ferrol and Corunna are in one bay, about four miles apart. See the charts, *Blockade of Brest*, vol. ii. (N.R.S. vol. xxi.), pp. 71, 195.

attended it will, I trust, sufficiently recommend him to your approbation and the notice of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. B. MARTIN.¹

ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS TO B. MARTIN.

Dear Sir,—I thank you for the information and drawing you have sent me—the wind is now quite fresh at east, which makes me unwilling to detain the Suwarrow. The enemy cannot have a more favourable opportunity unless they mean to wait for a chance after a gale of wind, when we may be farther off; out they must come, or make peace very shortly. I only wish they may not get off without our knowing which way they go, and you will, I am sure, be as careful as possible upon that only important point.

I am, dear Sir,
your most obedient, most humble servant,
W. CORNWALLIS.

16th of Sept. [1801], at noon.

ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS TO B. MARTIN.

Dear Sir,—I send the Amethyst to you with supplies. It seems Captain Cooke is absent with leave; the acting captain would be the senior if you came away. I know not whether he is acquainted with the service² you are upon, which is at present of so much consequence and that the enemy should not

¹ A modest report of an admirably conceived and very well-executed enterprise. See *ante*, pp. 79–81.

² Commanding the inshore squadron of frigates watching the French and Spanish squadrons in Brest.

get out without our knowing whither they are bound. From some intelligence I have just received they have embarked French soldiers on board the Spanish ships, which looks like business should an opportunity offer, which they expect at this season. I wish therefore you would stay as long as possible, at least to show the new captain in what manner you have acted.

The way you have placed the enemy's ships in the form you sent me is very neat and pleasing, as well as a very clear way of showing them and the manner in which they lay. It has been said that the French admiral was to be removed to the Mont Blanc, a three-decker, but that may be with a view to deceive us.

Peace does not seem now to be much spoken of, and in that case they must attempt something.

I am, dear Sir,
your most obedient and most humble servant
W. CORNWALLIS.

Ville de Paris, 2nd of Oct., 1801.

LORD ST. VINCENT TO B. MARTIN.

Admiralty, 16th October, 1801.

Sir.—The Board not having considered the service (alluded to in your letter of the 14th) performed under the direction of Lieutenant Pipon of the description to entitle him to promotion, I must confess my surprise at the manner in which you have thought fit to address me upon the subject of it.

Very sincerely, your humble servant,
ST. VINCENT.

Captain Martin.

B. Martin's Answer.

My Lord,—Until I received your lordship's letter of the 16th instant, I was not aware of the impropriety of addressing the First Lord of the Admiralty in behalf of a deserving officer.

I have the honour to be,

T. B. M.

COMMISSIONER FANSHawe TO B. MARTIN.

24th February [1804].

My dear Sir,—In my last I mentioned the children having colds; I may now say that they seem to have hardly any relicts of them. I and all the grandchildren at home are well—and a letter to-day from Mrs. F[anshawe] gives a good account of our friends in London. I trust that your indisposition continued to leave you at a rapid pace, and that you are now in every respect perfectly well. Thank you for your account of our own, and of the enemy's forces. I think that they hardly muster at Brest enough to venture contest with Admiral Cornwallis with any prospect of success in action with him; but probably their aim may be to cripple our fleet, and in such case endeavour to push troops for descent on our coasts. The *Téméraire* is [in] Cawsand Bay, and I just now hear has orders to push out immediately to join the fleet. *Plantagenet* goes out to-morrow (wind and weather permitting) to convoy East India ships—how far is not quite certain, but *De Courcy* has letters for Ceylon. It is said that the *Toulon* ships have got out, and some apprehension of their pushing for Brest for the great objects, but I shall not be surprised at hearing of [an] attack on one of our

West India islands. Old Mr. Culme¹ is dead, so also is Lady Eliot,² quickly following her lord. Carysfort at Portsmouth and likely to remain there some time, as no dock is, or likely to be soon, vacant for her. The Doris is to sail this evening, if she can, and I will not risk missing such conveyance for this short letter, which I cannot much lengthen. We have here Venerable and Phoenix only that can be ready in many weeks. Adieu, my dear Sir.

I am, your truly affectionate

ROB. FANSHAWE.

Captain Martin, Impétueux.

COMMISSIONER FANSHAWE TO BYAM MARTIN.

[Plymouth Dock], 23rd March, 1804.

My dear Sir,—The Venerable is warping out of harbour, but I hope to be in time to put my letters on board her. Kitty and all the children are gone this morning to Catch-french; she has a slight cold—the children all well. Mrs. J. and Susan still at Nuneham. Robert³ sailed on the 18th, from Portsmouth for Cork; a good easterly breeze carried him past this place without stopping; ordered to be under Lord Gardner's⁴ command, but victualled and stored for five months for foreign service, which looks as if he might expect to be sent out somewhere, as occasion may require. Poor fellow! he is gone with a heart

¹ John Culme of Tothill, near Plymouth, described as 'a true old English gentleman,' died on 23rd February, 1804, aged 70 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1804, pt. i. p. 281). He was the great-grandfather of Sir Michael Culme Seymour, the present Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom.

² Lord Eliot died on the 17th, Lady Eliot on the 23rd February, 1804.

³ Robert Fanshawe, the Commissioner's son, captain of the Carysfort, 28, going out to the West Indies with convoy.

⁴ Commanding the naval forces in Ireland.

deeply wounded by a young lady near Newcastle, and it seems as if she, poor soul! does not feel quite heart whole, but this *entre nous*—if you should chance to see or write to him don't mention it.

Mr. Pitt's attack on the Admiralty¹ failed in its immediate effect. I suspect this to have been only the first move in a greater game. Sir William Elford² attempted to speak on the subject, but it seems that the whole House was suddenly seized with a fit of coughing, which ceased on his silence. The Venerable went this morning out of harbour and is, I believe, gone to sea with the Defiance. In the bay are Tonnant, Spartiate and Goliath. Tonnant is to be paid in the morning and to go soon to sea—for the Ferrol station. Sir Edward [Pellew] to have with him Malta, Mars, Dragon, Ganges and Ardent.³ It is said that his son, Lieutenant P[ownoll] Pellew,⁴ is going out to Sir J. Duckworth with a fiat; the Goliath and Spartiate remain in the bay; the latter will soon be ready to go out. Not one two-decked ship remains afloat in Hamoaze. The Courageux is to go out of dock in a few days, but has yet a great [deal] to be done to her; Tigre and Warrior and Princess Charlotte will be out in about six weeks. After them we have nothing that can come forward for a long while. 24th: We are all well.

I remain yours affectionately,

ROB. FANSHAWE.

Captain Martin, H.M.S. *Impétueux*.

¹ Or rather on Lord St. Vincent's administration, 15 March, 1804.

² A banker of Plymouth, for which he was at this time M.P.

³ Cf. *Blockade of Brest*, vol. ii. (*N.R.S.*, vol. xxi.), p. 305.

⁴ Afterwards 2nd Viscount Exmouth. The fiat was to some purpose. Born 1 July, 1786, he was already a lieutenant of 9 April, 1802; he was now made commander 1 May, 1804, and was posted on 22 Jan., 1806. He was still a captain at the time of his death in 1833.

COMMISSIONER FANSHawe TO B. MARTIN.

26th April, 1804.

My dear Sir,—This day's 'Gazette' announces the promotions as in the enclosed list.¹ The commissions marked x are come to me; what other promotions in inferior classes I have not yet heard. This is supposed to result from determination taken on change of ministry. Two convoys are said to be gone—the Wolverine² and hers to Newfoundland, and the Apollo,³ with the West Indian. Report says that the Carysfort went on with [the] remains of the latter. How this could come about I cannot imagine, unless that the two captains, according to their known inclinations, changed their intended destinations, and that Dixon afterwards got into the scrape. However it may be, I have new cause for anxiety about Robert,⁴ but I trust that the same good Providence that has borne him up hitherto will continue its protection of him. We have for some (time) been in most distressing apprehension for dear Elizabeth, whose indisposition was on

¹ Now missing.

² The Wolverine, a wretched collier bought into the service, escorting a small convoy, was captured by a French privateer, the Blonde, 24 guns and 220 men, on 24th March. The Wolverine had 13 guns and 76 men, and sank a quarter of an hour after surrendering; the action lasted fifty minutes, enabling six of the convoy to escape.—James, *Naval History*, vol. iii. pp. 259–61. The Blonde was captured a few months after. Norman, in his *Corsairs of France* (p. 378), has noted this action as a proof of the efficiency of French privateers; he was evidently not aware of the great superiority of the Blonde over the Wolverine.

³ The Apollo, 36-gun frigate, with the greater part of her convoy, ran ashore near Cape Mondego, at 3 A.M. on 2nd April, 1804, and many lives were lost. Captain R. Fanshawe, commanding the Carysfort, wore just before dark and saved the remainder of the convoy, which he escorted to Barbados.—*Ib.* pp. 261–4; Ralfe, *Naval Chronology*, i. pp. 39 seq.

⁴ The captain of the Carysfort.

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Monday represented to me to be so alarming that I sent off immediately an express to Mr. Glanville,¹ who had gone to London on the melancholy occasion of his poor mother's fate. Poor fellow! what a second shock will he receive! But happily things have taken a favourable turn; the whole cause of indisposition (a feminine one) is said to be removed, and nothing remains whatever but extreme weakness which it has occasioned. Your children are all well in the dockyard; Kitty is still at Catch-french with Mrs. T. and Susan—all of them quite well. In order to get my letter in time for the Prince I will not enlarge it further than to thank you for your two or three letters, and to express my best wishes for your health and prosperity, being, dear Sir,

Your affectionate
ROB. FANSHAWE.

Captain T. B. Martin, Impétueux.

COMMISSIONER FANSHAWE TO BYAM MARTIN.

20th August, 1804.

My dear Sir,—I cannot sufficiently thank you for your affectionate letter on the deeply afflicting stroke that has befallen us.² I cannot say more on the subject than that I trust it will please God to afford us that consolation which only results from pious resignation to His Divine Dispensations; the truly affectionate regards of our remaining children and their connections tend greatly to our comfort. Those of your beloved brother³ at Antigua cannot

¹ F. Glanville of Catch-french, in Cornwall, the husband of the Commissioner's daughter Elizabeth.

² Death of his son Robert in the West Indies.

³ Josiah Martin, brother of B. M., collector of customs at Antigua.

be acknowledged with sufficient gratitude ; his attentions to dear Robert during his illness, and to his remains, exceed my powers of expressing it. I have endeavoured to signify it in my answer to his kind letter to me on this most melancholy event, but I could not do so satisfactorily to my sense ; when you write to him pray tell him that my remembrance of his goodness to us can never be forgotten by us. Dear Mr. Glanville was with us when we received the sad intelligence, and has been constantly and usefully kind to us. I must not omit to say that dear Kitty¹ also has added much to our comfort. Perhaps you may have heard from your dear brother particulars of dear Robert's case, and perhaps some signification of sentiments or wishes which the dear young man might have expressed or endeavoured to express ; if so, pray communicate it to me. I think that knowledge of it must be soothing to me.

Your dear children are all well, so is our whole household except poor Cordelia,² about whom I begin to entertain rather alarming apprehensions. I expect Captain White, every day, and most earnestly wish that he was arrived.

I am, dear Sir,
Very affectionately yours,
ROB. FANSHAWE.

Captain Martin, Impétueux, off Brest.

¹ His daughter, Mrs. B. Martin.

² A younger daughter of the Commissioner and wife of Captain John Chambers White, who died, a vice-admiral and commander-in-chief, at Sheerness in 1845. Cordelia died in 1809, and White married again in 1816.

B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN, BART.

Impétueux, Cawsand Bay [October 1804].

My dear Henry,—I came into this port after a cruise of fifteen weeks, with orders not to remain here more than seven days, and as the penalties of disobedience are not very agreeable to a delicate conscience, you may suppose that I have been constantly on the move, as well for the sake of personal example as to prevent a suspicion of wilful delay ; but with all this outward appearance of zeal the defects of the ship could not be completed under a fortnight, and we are now detained by Sir J. Colpoys¹ to receive fuel for the Ville de Paris.² The sum total of the above is intended as a set off against any bad faith in not writing according to promise, and which I much wished to do in order to submit to your consideration a proposal which I forwarded to the Commissioner respecting the defence of this port, and which I had the satisfaction to find so perfectly suitable to his ideas as to be handed immediately to the Admiralty, but from the self-sufficient people at that Board it did not receive the least patronage, or even a commonly civil acknowledgment. I have not time to write out a copy and therefore send the original in its undressed state. It has never been shown to any but the Commissioner, and two intelligent brother officers, who not only approved but recommended its being forwarded to the Board ; and though they, the Admiralty, had been writing to the Commissioner to give his unreserved opinion as to the best mode of defending the port, they have confined themselves to a mere acknowledgment of this paper getting to hand. I would not permit it to go

¹ Commander-in-chief at Plymouth.² Flag-ship of the commander-in-chief of the fleet off Brest.

in my name, or I believe it might have had a still more ungracious reception.

All that I have said to the agents respecting our ill-fated prize, la Virginie, only seems to have produced a momentary effort to bring it to a conclusion, and I shall not be astonished if, on my return to port three months hence, the matter should remain undecided—or possibly a suit instituted by the privateer people to recover damages for injury done to the cargo by our detention of the vessel at this port. I am sure a word from you to Cooke and Halford has at all times a good effect ; and, if you pass near Norfolk Street, do pray give them a call, or they will let the business go on from day to day till my ruin becomes inevitable, and then say, Why, who would have thought it ? Whenever the dividends are paid have the goodness to remit the amount to Kitty, or give her authority to draw for it.

The wind seems quite set in from the southwest, and may perhaps keep me here some time. We are all quite well and full of joy at the contradiction of an unpleasant report about the Carysfort.¹

Love to Lady M., and believe me ever affectionately yours,

T. B. MARTIN.

Plan for defence of Plymouth Dock sent to Commissioner Fanshawe, referred to in the previous letter.

Impétueux, Oct. 22nd, 1804—at sea.

The ships in ordinary that are moored on the western side of Hamoaze to be supplied with two guns and a proportion of ammunition, so as to form

¹ Apparently of the death of Robert Fanshawe ; but it was quite true.

a line of defence from Mount Edgcombe to Saltash and in St. Germans Lake, which in the event of an enemy landing in Cornwall would be a sure protection to the dockyard; and to prevent the risk of our guns being turned against us, each ship should be furnished with spike nails to wedge the shot and thereby burst the cannon when fired; though the possibility of boarding a ship or crossing the water may be effectually prevented by sending the boats to the opposite side of the harbour, and destroying all the river barges the moment an enemy is known to have landed.

The warrant officers to exercise the guns on board and also in the gun-boats, so that they may be expert in the ships, boats, or batteries on shore as may be eventually needful. By this, including boatswains, gunners, carpenters, and purasers, you would have at Plymouth upwards of 200 most useful men ready for any service at an instant's notice. These might, if necessary, be reinforced by the riggers or others from the yard; two or three lieutenants to reside on board each ship in ordinary, the whole under the direction of a captain who (subject to the Commissioner's authority and interference) should be responsible for their being constantly on the spot in readiness to join the sea Fencibles, army, gun-boats, batteries, or in fact to be prompt in going wherever they can be useful. In people of this description, well attended to, I think you would find an example of enterprise, spirit and talents that would be of incalculable advantage in giving a right direction to the patriotic zeal of the multitude, who, with such leaders at hand, would doubtless distinguish themselves by the most heroic achievements.

Twenty-four pound caronades and slides to be lodged at Brixham watering-place, ready to fix in

Torbay boats, who on an alarm of invasion should repair—under the direction of naval officers stationed for the purpose at Berry Head—to the point of attack.

The Cornish coast is certainly much under the protection of our fleet, but Polperro¹ Bay, Mevagissey and Fowey are places very inviting to an enemy intent on the destruction of your arsenal, and therefore worthy of notice.

The Torbay boats might be of vast service in counteracting the designs of an enemy along the coast from Mevagissey to Weymouth.²

VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD TO B. MARTIN.

Dreadnought, off Rochefort, October 27th, 1804.

My dear Sir,—I am very much obliged to you and give you many thanks for your kindness in taking care of my stock, &c. That very little of it is arrived here is no affair of yours ; it is what we are subject to, and you cannot help. I am glad you disposed of the sheep to those gentlemen who wanted them ; the two you mention in your letter have found a friend somewhere, who I hope will find them good. I am particularly obliged to you for the jar of pickled salmon, which is excellent, and the hamper, cask, &c. all came safe, but, as might be expected, the contents had suffered in the voyage.

You have been upon this station, I think, and know what it is ; it is better for summer than win-

¹ Polleberry in MS.

² Martin's idea seems to have been to provide for the stopping of a small party landed to destroy the arsenal in a sudden dash. It does not appear that he, any more than other naval officers, believed in invasion, or our fleets being decoyed away. Theoretical German invaders of England now appear to rely on this, the fallacious theory of Napoleon.

ter. What a blessing to mankind is peace when we can all choose our stations ashore, and talk of Black Rocks and Roche Bannec without danger of having our night's rest broke by them! I have heard your Impétueux had a very narrow escape from Ushant, and am thankful that she had ; it is a style of cruising unknown in any former period. How very odd Lord Keppel's letter reads now! who thought he was near enough Ushant at 35 leagues.¹ The French invite this sort of service and urge it, I dare say often, by false appearances and false reports, in the hope and expectation that some day it may do more for them than they can do for themselves.

There seems to be no end to the gigantic power of Bonaparte ; whatever Russia can do he will laugh to scorn. Their enmity is useful to him, and it gives him a plausible pretext for increasing his already overgrown army, the scourge of Europe and the pillar of his power.

I heard with great sorrow the loss which my good friend the Commissioner had in the death of his son ; he was an amiable young man, and society has to lament him. I hope they have recovered, as well as can be, the shock of such a misfortune, and that your last account was good of Mrs. Martin and all the family ; pray remember me kindly to them all. I am sorry to find Lord Nelson's health obliges him to come home, but I do not wonder that the constant anxiety attached to such a command,

¹ Something of this sort was very commonly reported, and the name of 'Admiral Leeshore,' invented by the creatures of the Government, stuck to him like a burr. But what Keppel wrote on 30th July, 1778, was : 'The wind and weather being such that they [the French] could reach their own shores before there was any chance of the King's fleet getting up with them, in the state the ships were in . . . left me no choice of what was proper and advisable to do.'—Keppel's *Life of Keppel*, vol. ii., p. 48.

without the fillip which brilliant actions now and then give to care, should have worn out his body, which was always but a flimsy case for his Herculean soul. Captain Gardner is looking better than I have seen him, and everybody here of your acquaintance pretty well. The French much in the same state they have been long.

I am, my dear Sir, with great regard,
Your faithful, humble servant,
CUTHB. COLLINGWOOD.

Captain B. Martin, his Majesty's ship the *Impétueux*, off Ushant.

Extract from the 'Sun' of December 19, 1804.¹

The following is a summary of the principal evidence that appeared on the court-martial, held at Plymouth on Monday, December 10, on Captain J. Hunter and the officers and crew of H.M. ship *Venerable*, for the loss of that ship in Torbay on the night of 24th November last; and in consequence of which they were all honourably acquitted except a private marine, who, for improper behaviour after the ship struck, was sentenced to 200 lashes from ship to ship round the fleet:²—

‘On³ Saturday afternoon, about three o'clock, the wind being westerly, attended by heavy rain, suddenly shifted to the NE, attended also with the same kind of weather and likewise foggy. On observing the *Ville de Paris* hoist in her launch, our boats were hoisted in, and every necessary preparation made

¹ Copied by Sir Henry Martin, 1838.

² A proof of the necessity of trying every one on board by court-martial for loss of a man-of-war either by wreck or surrender.

³ Captain Hunter's narrative abridged.

for sailing. At half-past four the Admiral made the signal to weigh and shortly after was under sail, the ship casting with her head to the southward. The signal was then made for every ship to show a light to denote their stations. The Venerable's anchor was now weighed, the ship under three topsails, foresail, jib and staysails, and brought to for the purpose of cutting and fishing anchor. In hooking the cat one of the men fell overboard; in lowering the boat from the starboard quarter¹ to save the man, one of the falls was suddenly let go, in consequence of which the boat was swamped and Mr. Deas, the midshipman, was drowned; it was also believed that two men shared the same fate. The boat on the larboard quarter was now lowered and saved the man who first fell overboard. During this time the Venerable having drifted considerably towards Brixham, the boats were hoisted in and sail made on her. Finding we could not weather the Berry Head, the ship was tacked with her head to the northward, after making several short tacks, at times bearing away and at others luffing up, to avoid the different ships working out of the bay. It was now near eight o'clock, the night extremely dark, the wind variable, and the weather foggy; we were not able to discern the land, in consequence of which our chief dependence was upon our soundings. On the men in the chains calling by the deep eight, the helm was put a-lee—the wind at this time shifted nearly four points to the eastward—notwithstanding which the ship came round, and when we braced about our head yards the men at the lead called by the deep seven. It was now nearly calm. Finding the ship did not gather headway quickly the jib and main topmast staysails were hoisted. At this time the ship struck upon the reef of rocks known by the name of Paign-

¹ See *ante*, p. 136.

ton Ledge. The signal of distress was now made, and continued to be repeated while we had a gun above water or a false fire left. An attempt was made to furl the sails without effect, the ship striking so forcibly as to prevent the people going aloft. The boats were hoisted out for the purpose of carrying out the stream anchor. The ship at this time beginning to make water, the chain-pumps were set to work, and before the stream anchor could possibly be got into the launch, the starboard side was reported to be bulged in; this might be, to the best of my recollection, about one hour after she struck. The weather at this time clearing up a little, we were able to judge of our unfortunate situation. To our great mortification there seemed no hope of saving the ship, and very little of saving the lives of the crew. The masts were now ordered to be cut away, and in a few minutes they fell over the off-side—first the mizen, then the main, and lastly the fore mast. The crew were then ordered to get into the boats as fast as they arrived to our assistance, which they were all able to do by going over the stern, and by three o'clock [A.M.] were safely out of the ship except the captain, officers and a few of the men who were not to leave the ship till the officers did. About five o'clock, on the last return of the *Impétueux*'s boats, the captain, officers and remaining few left her and were safely conveyed on board the *Impétueux*. Shortly after daylight the ship was perceived to be separated, and the part on which for the last four hours we had stood, namely the starboard main and mizen chains, had disappeared. These, to the best of my recollection, are the particulars of the loss of H.M.S. *Venerable*. It is now with the deepest sorrow I have to make a few remarks upon the inhuman conduct of the people of Brixham, who showed not the least disposition to

save any of our lives ; and I am firmly persuaded that had it not been for the great and spirited exertions of Captain T. B. Martin, and the officers and men of the boats of the *Impétueux*, assisted by some boats of the *Goliath* (Captain Charles Brisbane), not one of our lives would have been saved. It is most true one boat from Brixham came towards us, but I fear not with the best of intentions, as on being hailed she instantly hauled away from us. It is also well known that the people on the beach where the wreck lay were employed in plundering what few of our things floated on shore. Indeed I and the officers are of opinion we should have met with more humane treatment had the ship been lost on an enemy's coast, and are sure that any of H.M. ships which the inevitable peril of service may place in a similar situation will experience the same treatment.

' Too much cannot be said of the prompt and fearless assistance afforded us by the *Impétueux* and her boats, to which the officers and crew of the *Venerable* are indebted for their lives. Among the meritorious and distinguished services of that most able officer Captain T. B. Martin may be noticed the singular and most honourable circumstance of its having fallen to his lot to save the lives of four ships' companies in distress, viz. those of the *Magnificent* (Captain Ricketts), *Ethalion* (Captain Searle), *Venerable* (Captain John Hunter), and another whose name does not occur to us.'¹

Captain Hunter in his official account wrote : ' To Captain Martin, of the *Impétueux*, whose feelings as a man as well as his zeal as an officer were on this distressing occasion so conspicuous, it is the desire of the officers and crew of the *Venerable* to express the very high sense they have of the obligations

¹ This is a mistake ; Martin was not present at the *Ethalion*'s wreck, and there is no trace of 'another.'

they are under to his personal exertions, as well as those of the officers and boats' crews whom he employed upon this difficult and dangerous service, for it is to those exertions they owe the life they now enjoy, not having the smallest assistance from the shore.'

BYAM MARTIN TO COMMISSIONER FANSHawe.

Kitley, Dec. 21st, 1804.

My dear Sir,—I lose not a moment in replying to your letter communicating the contents of one from Admiral Markham,¹ which, as it implies a suspicion of my being the author of a pamphlet defamatory of the character and conduct of himself and late colleagues in office, has excited in my mind a degree of astonishment and indignation that I am utterly unable to express, and I shall only briefly declare that I did not write the manuscript alluded to, nor do I know who did; it came to me in common circulation and went direct to your hands. I must now beg to observe that Admiral Markham, in appealing to your friendship and probity of character to assist in detecting a secret assassin, invites a confidence in his disposition to do the same, and I think it very much behoves us to avail ourselves of so manly a profession to solicit a knowledge of the spy and informer of our most secret communications, that the wretch may appear to the public clothed in that despicable character.

I write in haste, and have only time to add that I am ever truly yours,

T. B. MARTIN.

¹ Rear-Admiral Markham had been one of Lord St. Vincent's Board (see vol. iii. 299–300), which was still the mark for the abuse of the many thieves whom St. Vincent had baulked of their prey.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN COLPOYS TO B. MARTIN.

Admiralty, Jan. 4th, 1805.

I am very sorry indeed, my dear Martin, for the necessity you are under of going into the doctor's list for a time. I am glad you sent me the letter you did, which I immediately showed to Lord Melville, and which he consented to in the kindest manner, and with the additions of recommending the Board to express their regret at the necessity there was for your application. I am glad you made choice of Douglas, who will, I think, do his part **very** properly by your ship.¹ Pray make my compliments to him.

Do, my good friend, say everything that's kind for me to your own Kitty and the poor Commissioner's family in general; few here felt more for them than I have done. This is a world where much is to be endured, but in all things God's will be done, and I trust you will not be in a hurry to return to your duty; though I very much hope you may be able to do so soon. But pray get yourself quite fit in the first place, for what is all this world can give us without that first of blessings—health? And which may you long enjoy a large portion of is the sincere wish of

Most truly yours,
JOHN COLPOYS.

I called at your mother to wish them a Happy New Year. No one there.

¹ Captain J. E. Douglas took command on 10th January, and B. Martin returned to the ship on 17th April. The log during these two months shows a marked increase in the punishment lists; drunkenness and insolence are the most common offences noted, but theft, quarrelling, and selling grog are not uncommon.

[I requested Captain J. Erskine Douglas might be appointed acting captain of l'Impétueux while I was at Cheltenham.]—T. B. M.

CAPTAIN JOHN HUNTER TO B. MARTIN.

40 Cornhill, London, 5th March, 1805.

My dear Sir,—Having understood that a trial is shortly to take place on the marines belonging to his Majesty's ship Impétueux, who were employed by you at my request in the protection of such public stores and private property as accident might throw on shore upon Paignton Beach from the wreck of his Majesty's late ship Venerable under my command, I think it may not be wholly useless in me to express to you (who may probably appear at the trial) my opinion of the difficulty of that duty which those marines had to execute; their order being to prevent any of the stores, public or private, which might be washed on shore from the wreck from being stolen or plundered by the country people or any others. It is painful to me to say, but it is a fact which ought not on this occasion to be concealed, that the people in that part of the country showed a manifest want of the common feelings of humanity, or any consideration for the sufferings of 600 of their fellow creatures and countrymen under very heavy misfortunes. You very well remember, Sir, as I do, how repeatedly both you and myself, as well as your officers and mine, had in the most serious and impressive manner cautioned the country people against appearing near that part of the shore on which the scattered remains of the Venerable's wreck, and the various stores which she had contained, were cast by the surf; and how often, notwithstanding those frequent admoni-

tions, various articles of both public and private property were found upon different individuals. I wish I could at this moment speak more circumstantially as to the different articles which had been detected upon some of these, and wrested from their plundering and unfeeling hands, with no other punishment than a repetition of those admonitions they had already so frequently received. I shall only observe that, as I am not at present prepared to go into particulars, I will just take notice of what concerns my own and the officers' private property. It is well known from the various chests, boxes, and trunks which came on shore, locked and even lashed, that had it not been for the merciless plunderers of that part of the country our losses would not have been so great; but those packages were all broke open and everything valuable which they had contained were taken away. You will probably remember that I had not a second shirt to replace the wet one I had stood the whole of that dreadful night in, until your goodness supplied me. It was exactly the same with my officers. What then can we say of the duty to be performed by the sentinels placed for the purpose of preventing those depredations? They must defend their charge, or be guilty of neglect of duty. The man who fired had repeatedly (as I have understood) ordered the people to quit the place where his charge lay, but they paid no attention to the caution he gave them, until, suspecting that charge in danger, he found himself compelled for its security to fire, when he unfortunately wounded one of those people. In short, Sir, I cannot hesitate to say—and I am not singular in this judgment—that if we had been wrecked upon the coast of France, or even of Barbary, we could not have been more completely plundered, a melancholy proof of the want of that

commiseration which we had a right to expect from our own countrymen, in whose defence and protection we were at the time of our misfortune employed.

I shall be happy to hear from you when the trial is ended. Offer my respectful remembrances to Mrs. Martin and to the Commissioner's family. I am, with very great regard,

My dear Sir, most sincerely and faithfully yours,
JNO. HUNTER.

I am in hope of a ship soon.

CAPTAIN R. STOPFORD¹ TO B. MARTIN.

Spencer, off Toulon, 13th March, 1805.

My dear Martin,—I had just dipped my pen into my bitterest ink to pour out a volley of abuse upon you for not having written a line to me, when a boat brought me your letter and papers *via* Acheron—and I now return to my natural temper and kindly thank you for so acceptable a remembrance. We have been far away from all Christian countries since my last letter, in manner as follows:—On the 19th January our squadron lying at the Magdalen Islands,² getting water and provisions from our victuallers, 2 frigates (Active and Seahorse) came in with the signal that the enemy's fleet had put to sea. This you may suppose caused no little stir amongst us, and was followed with the signals to prepare for sailing, to unmoor, and to weigh, as fast as the flags could be hoisted. We just saved our daylight to push

¹ Afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, commander-in-chief on the coast of Syria in 1840. In 1809 he married Mary, daughter of Commissioner Fanshawe, thus becoming B. Martin's brother-in-law.

² Cf. Nicolas, *Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson*, vol. vi., pp. 324 *et seq.*

through a most intricate and narrow passage in which Lord Nelson had made up his mind that some ship must have been lost ; we all however got safe out, consisting of Victory, Royal Sovereign, Canopus, Superb, Belleisle, Conqueror, Tigre, Swiftsure, Leviathan, Donegal, and the swift Spencer ; from the 19th to the 26th we were beating against strong southerly winds to get off the south end of Sardinia, where we expected to come plump upon the enemy, who were last seen steering also for the south end of Sardinia under a press of sail. On our arrival off Cagliari, and having communication with the shore, no tidings were obtained of the enemy. A French frigate that had been seen off there confirmed Lord Nelson in the idea that they were gone on to the southward.¹ Away we steered for Palermo, off which place we arrived the 28th, but no enemy ; off we stood to Messina, and on the 31st worked with the whole squadron through the Straits of Messina—still no tidings of the enemy, excepting the Phœbe having joined us after having seen one French line-of-battle ship going into Ajaccio with the loss of her topmasts. Bearing to the southward of Sicily we steered towards the Morea, and having taken a sweep that way, made all sail towards Alexandria, off which place we arrived the 7th February. Communication was had with the shore, but no news of the enemy. Three Turkish frigates were laying there, whom we roused from their natural apathy and they began to bend sails. Only 300 Turks were in garrison at Alexandria, which would easily fall to any attacking power.

¹ What Nelson actually wrote was :—‘One of two things must have happened : either the French fleet must have put back crippled, or they are gone to the eastward, probably to Egypt. If they have put back crippled, I could never overtake them, and therefore I can do no harm in going to the eastward.’—Nicolas, vol. vi., p. 333.

We had now only to get back as fast as possible, and being much delayed by bad weather and baffling winds got off Malta the 19th February, when we first got intelligence that the enemy, having been much disabled in mast and rigging during the bad weather we experienced on first leaving Magdalen, had returned to Toulon on the 21st and 22nd of January, having been only four or five days at sea. We all hoped when off Malta that Sir Richard Bickerton¹ would at least have had the consolation of solacing with my Lady, who had embarked in a boat to come out, but, the weather being very squally and Lord Nelson very impatient, the vessel was made to bear up before she could reach Sir Richard. We now pushed towards Sardinia, where we arrived on the 28th February, and completed our water in a bay near Cagliari, from whence we sailed on the 1st March, and only reached our rendezvous off Toulon yesterday, having had as much blowing weather as off the Black Rocks. The enemy have all arrived in Toulon and appear again ready to come to sea, and I make no doubt will again attempt Egypt—though it seems rather extraordinary they should attempt with so small a force as could be contained in eleven sail of the line and nine frigates an expedition which formerly required so formidable a force as that under Bonaparte; yet Lord Nelson has no doubt of their object, and I believe his opinion is grounded upon their having three dismounted regiments of cavalry, a great number of saddles and stands of arms. Their whole force embarked did not probably amount to 10,000 men; but I am afraid they have prepared the way for themselves in Egypt and that they will be received with open arms. If it is a point of national importance that they should be kept out of that country, we ought to anticipate them

¹ Rear-admiral, second in command.

by ourselves taking possession of Alexandria; the state of that country is so perplexed with the contention of various parties that either French or English would by management and their preponderance in the now doubtful scale of power decide many wavering parties, who would rather act a secondary part than be exterminated by their unchristian opponents. So here we are again for an uncertain time. As for Sardinia, our only port of refuge in a storm, an attack is apprehended upon it from the French troops in Corsica, and they will [have] little trouble in subduing a handful of Sardinian troops, when pay is eighteen months in arrears to officers and men.¹

Messina must be taken, and we must have men and better frigates here to make any progress in the next campaign, which with the compelled assistance of the Spaniards may be interesting.

I had heard of and lamented that indisposition which had disposed you to have an acting captain of Impétueux, a circumstance which you mention in a retired corner of your letter. I hope the spring months will get you out again. We are all well here, and Lord Nelson seems to have got over his fatigue and anxiety. He does not now expect to go home, which is good news for his squadron. Your old Fisgard has been at her old tricks of springing leaks and is gone to Gibraltar, where I am afraid Sir John Orde, who blocks us up very effectually in the Mediterranean, will seize her as he does all Lord Nelson's ships he can lay hold of.²

I beg you to remember me most kindly to your

¹ Nelson considered the preservation of Sardinia from the French indispensable for our naval operations.

² The appointment of Sir John Orde to the command off Cadiz was a most injudicious one, and highly prejudicial to the public interests, as he detained every cruiser of Nelson that came within his reach.

better half, who has a great deal to answer for if any accident befalls Impétueux, and remember me also to the Commissioner and his family, who I hope are all well. This letter goes by Renown, who at last goes to England, and will leave us this evening.

Believe me, my dear Martin,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT STOPFORD.

CAPTAIN G. MOORE TO BYAM MARTIN.

Indefatigable, Saturday.

My dear Martin,—I am very much obliged to you for your papers and news : I was just out of bed when we were near you the other morning or I would have sent them to you. We were pretty well in yesterday and the weather was clear ; we all think the line-of-battle ships are in the same berths where we first saw them, the only alteration seems to be that they have been painting and beautifying. We count nineteen which we think of the line, three of them 3-deckers. There are some very fine-looking ships, and they look well about the masts, &c., all sails bent except topgallant sails. Topgallant yards across. They had their sails loose yesterday, spritsails most of them have. We were puzzled all night with the calms and variable airs to give the Vandréé and the Parquette¹ a berth. We have a damned long sick list ; a kind of inflammatory fever has carried off three men since we left Plymouth, and we have a great number down with it. Old Wolfe has nothing of Jervis's² on board ; I inquired before about that letter-book. We have nine of the Magnificent's on board ; Jervis has a list of the

¹ Rocks off Brest. See the chart, *Blockade of Brest*, vol. i. (N.R.S., vol. xiv.), p. 32.

² Captain of the Magnificent, lately lost.

whole. The fellows wanted to stay where they were, and contrived to be out of the way when we were sending them on board the Colossus. I will be much obliged to you to let me have the cruise out of them as we are very weak from sick and short. I do not know what kind of fight we would make.

Yours very sincerely,
GRAHAM MOORE.

Endorsed.—Captain Graham Moore, March 18th,¹ 1805, when under my orders off Brest, reporting his reconnoitring. This was immediately after the loss of the Magnificent.

*CAPTAIN LORD HENRY PAULET TO
B. MARTIN.*

[Terrible, off Ushant, 24 Sept. 1805.]²

My dear Martin,—Joy go with you and them, at meeting all your friends, to whom I beg to be kindly remembered. You assume, in such *haste* I cannot write to you, but I am not surprised when the desired object is so near your reach.

I beg you will keep Billy Young³ in order, as I understand he is very irregular at present, and Otway says he shall esteem you in proportion to the length of time you remain, and he has some hopes from your ready inclination.

The admiral has desired me to send you two sick men; I am surprised therefore the *all correct* Impétueux should not understand my signal. I made

¹ The date of receipt, Monday.

² Sent two men to hospital by H.M.S. Impétueux.—*Terrible's Log.* 27th Sept. A.M. moored in Cawsand Bay.—*Log of Impétueux.*

³ The commander-in-chief at Plymouth, Vice-Admiral William Young; he died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1821.

the number, not having the pennants,¹ and the necessary signals would have followed if you had had *patience*; but I forgive you, as I conclude your joy is so great and your eagerness to arrive has deranged the system not a little. God bless you! Success, health, and every good attend you, from

Yours sincerely,
H. PAULET.

B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN, BART.

[? 19th May, 1807.]

My dear Henry,—I have this instant received a letter from Lord Mulgrave intimating in the most gratifying terms my appointment to the Prince of Wales; it is as follows: 'Sir—It was not in my power to answer your letter immediately as I was not at liberty, at the time I received it, to comply with your wishes respecting the Prince of Wales, but I am happy that I have since been enabled to make a satisfactory arrangement by which I have the pleasure of notifying to you that your appointment to the command of the Prince of Wales will be immediately made out.'²

'I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem, &c.,

'MULGRAVE.'

May 18th, 1807.

I have had two letters from Bedford since he left the P. of Wales, saying that she has the best

¹ The number of a ship is made by alphabetical flags, and is always the same; pennants are smaller and used in squadrons for convenience, and vary.

² The Prince of Wales was a three-decked ship of 98 guns—a second rate. B. Martin's appointment to her was dated 19th May.

and most quiet and pleasant ship's company he ever met with, and in every respect the most desirable ship.

Yours,
T. B. M.

B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.

Plymouth, May 28th, 1807.

My dear Henry,—In the midst of a great deal of hurry and bustle in preparing for sea, I have not been unmindful of the ventilator, but called on the man who is employed to get it, to desire, if I should be out of the way, that he would write to you in case he succeeded in tracing the inventor's address, and which he expects to do very soon through the assistance of a brother mechanic at Birmingham.

As I am desired to proceed in the Hibernia to join the Prince of Wales, it is probable I shall be here at least ten days longer; which is to me a very satisfactory arrangement, as Admiral Gambier, in a letter received from him this morning, says Sir James Saumarez will then leave the P. of Wales and hoist his flag in the Hibernia. A Captain Lumley, who sailed with the expedition¹ under General Craufurd, has landed on some part of the coast with despatches, but from whence is not known

¹ Sent out to attack the Spanish settlements in Chili, and convoyed by a squadron under Stopford to Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands, where it was to wait till joined by Murray with a covering squadron. Stopford was then to join Sir Samuel Hood for a cruise in the North Atlantic. After vainly waiting at Porto Praya for four weeks, Craufurd determined to go to the Cape of Good Hope—then newly taken possession of—and fill up with provisions, with the intention of proceeding to Chili by the eastward route. The expedition was however ordered from the Cape to Buenos Ayres, where it took part in the operations under Whitelocke, which ended so disastrously for us and for him.

here, though by this time it must have transpired in London. It is, however, reported at Plymouth that General Craufurd waits at the Cape for further orders, but it is scarcely possible that after sailing 2,000 leagues with so fine an army, he should send back to ask what he is to do. I fear Stopford is in a very serious scrape for having acquiesced in the General's desire to proceed from St. Jago, notwithstanding they had positive orders to wait there for Admiral Murray. The fact is, Craufurd is only a young brigadier-general, and finding himself entrusted with a command so much more important than was ever given to a person of his rank before, he no doubt wished to get beyond the reach of any superior, who might be sent out with Admiral Murray, but I cannot think that Stopford was likely to partake of this feeling; though under similar circumstances in point of command I always considered him exemplary to the greatest degree in that first of all professional duties—obedience; as it is, I know from the best authority (but this between ourselves) that he is ordered to return and account for his conduct.¹

Accounts have been received here from Falmouth stating that the Blenheim is lost (foundered) in the East Indies, but I cannot trace them to any authority, and therefore trust they are not founded

¹ He had, in fact, on Craufurd's urgent request, gone on with him to the Cape. Thence he was sent home by Murray, and on his arrival at Spithead learned that orders had been sent there to place him under arrest and try him by court-martial for disobedience. These orders had however been cancelled, but Stopford demanded that this should be accompanied by a formal acknowledgment that he was free from blame, or that he should have an opportunity of proving it before a court-martial; whereupon the Admiralty wrote to him expressing their entire and warm approval of his conduct in the matter. He could not—they said—have acted otherwise without injury to the public service.

on truth.¹ You will see in the papers an account of destructive fire at Chudleigh,² and in whatever terms of horror it may be related it can in no way equal the truth. The flames were so rapid as to reduce nearly the whole town to ashes, and 1,500 poor souls to a penniless condition in a very few hours; but the flame of charity has been equally rapid in providing not only for their immediate relief, but almost enough has been subscribed already to restore the inhabitants to their former situations.

The Prince of Wales comes in to refit the moment Sir James Saumarez strikes his flag, and will stay in about a fortnight. In the winter she will require docking; perhaps, indeed, they may think it necessary now.

Kitty, who is quite well, joins with me in love to Lady M.

Ever affectionately yours,
T. B. MARTIN.

ADMIRAL DE COURCY TO B. MARTIN.

Secretary's Office, [Plymouth] Dock, 2 July, 1807.

My dear Martin,—The obliging expressions in your two late notes flatter, while they distress me. Never need you admit an apprehension that I should feel mortified by any inattention to etiquette! In both a public and a private capacity you have always given me marks of regard, and I assure you I perfectly well know how to appreciate the good wishes of a man of character and honour. If remissness has occurred, I fear it is to be traced to me, certainly not to you.

¹ Unfortunately, they were quite true.

² A market town in Devonshire.

You had scarcely weighed when I received from Lord Gardner an order for your repairing with oxen to Sir J. Saumarez.¹ Your anticipation of his instructions will infallibly give satisfaction, more especially as you acted in conformity with the injunctions of the vice-admiral.

Sad tidings from the Continent! Bonaparte, profiting of military superstition, made his grand attack upon the main body of the Russians² on the anniversary of his success at Marengo, and has triumphed in a slaughter of 35,000 of his fearless adversaries.

Lord Gardner³ leaves town this day (Thursday) and proposes to take post at Lupton, till admonished by Bedford of the equipment of the Ville de Paris. It is intimated to me that the Theseus will probably take me up at Plymouth, but of any further destination I am ignorant.

I write amidst the tumult inseparable from a nautical office, and am under all circumstances
Your attached, faithful,
and affectionate servant,
M. DE COURCY.

B. MARTIN TO [? BANK OF ENGLAND].

H.M.S. Prince of Wales, Cawsand Bay,
July 11th, 1807.

Sir,—William Ayton—a seaman belonging to his Majesty's ship the Prince of Wales under my command—having received at the pay tables a 5*l.* Bank of England note, and having sewn it within the lining of his jacket by way of security, till

¹ Then commanding a squadron of the Channel Fleet on the coast of France.

² Battle of Friedland.

³ Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet.

at length it was torn into a number of small pieces of which the enclosed is the largest I have been able to collect, and as it bears the number of the note, I hope it will sufficiently establish the fact to enable the poor fellow to get it.

I hope I am not incorrect in troubling you on this occasion, and if I am, that you will be so good as to excuse it, and inform me to whom I am to apply.

I am, Sir, &c.,
T. B. MARTIN.¹

ADMIRAL GAMBIER² TO CAPTAIN MARTIN.

Admiralty, July 17, 1807.³

Dear Sir,—I am afraid I should be the cause of great inconvenience to you, but as it is not a voluntary act of mine you will, I am sure, acquit me of all blame. The London was ordered for the service in the Baltic, but she could not be got ready in time, and the Prince of Wales was fixed upon for my flag. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to have you remain her captain ; but as the captain of the fleet, Sir H. Popham, is junior to you, I could not possibly expect you to remain in her. The service we are going upon will be of short duration. I hope the inconvenience will not be much felt by you. Being suddenly named to the command, and being obliged to leave London in great haste, I am totally unprovided with cabin and kitchen furniture.

¹ A similar instance of Lord St. Vincent's consideration for the interests of the seamen is told by Tucker.

² Made Lord Gambier for the capture of Copenhagen.

³ This letter was directed to me at Torbay and arrived there after I had sailed for North Yarmouth, and did not reach me until after I was superseded in the command of the P. of Wales.—T. B. M.

I shall therefore feel much obliged by your leaving every article of furniture, cookery ware, and every utensil, and such live and dead stock as you may have, and I will pay you for the articles which are consumed, and return the furniture made good to you as when I receive it. I have neither steward nor cook, and fear I must leave London without them ; if you could leave yours you will oblige me.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

J. GAMBIER.

Answer to Admiral Gambier.

Dear Sir,—I have but a moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to say that whatever I have on board the P. of Wales will be entirely at your service, and I will direct every arrangement to be made which may tend to your accommodation.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. B. MARTIN.

B. MARTIN TO THE HON. W. W. POLE.¹

26 Upper Harley Street, July 23rd, 1807.

Sir,—I beg you will be pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I was superseded yesterday in the command of the Prince of Wales by Captain Adam Mackenzie without my having received even the usual notification of their lordships' intention to remove me from the command of that ship.

Accustomed from my earliest introduction into

¹ The Secretary of the Admiralty.

the naval service to a high sense of the justice of the Board of Admiralty, and a cheerful obedience to its orders, it is with extreme pain that at this juncture I find myself dispossessed of such a command ; and those painful feelings are greatly heightened when I consider all the degrading circumstances attending my removal, and especially that it should be on account of a junior officer¹ whose professional conduct has so recently been the subject of a public reprimand. Had it been their Lordships' pleasure to have appropriated the Prince of Wales to the reception of Admiral Gambier under other circumstances, I should have taken a pride in using every possible exertion to promote the honour of his flag.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
T. B. MARTIN.

LORD MULGRAVE TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private.*] Admiralty, July 24th [1807].

Sir,—I feel so sincerely anxious at all times to consider the professional and personal feelings of every officer, and the expressions of your letter so strongly mark that yours have been wounded, though certainly without any intention on my part, or on that of any other person (I am convinced), of creating such an impression on your mind, that without making any observation on the tone of reproach towards me which your letter seems to convey, I will proceed at once to state to you the circumstances under which the flag of Admiral Gambier has been hoisted on board of the Prince of Wales. The service for which the fleet has been collected being of the most pressing nature, no time

¹ Sir Home Popham.

could be lost. The London was intended for the admiral's flag, and there was no intention of interfering with the Prince of Wales, till it was found that the London could not be ready in time for the service. The other arrangements were already made. With respect to the usual official notice which you mention in your public letter to the Board, I find upon inquiry that no such previous notice¹ from the Board is customary, but that a private letter from the first lord of the Admiralty is frequently written on those occasions. It certainly was not from any want of attention on my part towards you that I did not write, but from my knowledge that Admiral Gambier would communicate with you on the subject, and from not being aware that such private and half-official notice from the first lord was usual. I am, however, perfectly aware that it is not upon the mode, but the fact of your being removed, that you principally rest your representation, and I trust that the circumstances which I have stated of the sudden necessity of having recourse to the Prince of Wales will convince you that nothing injurious or unpleasant towards you was intended or conceived; nor can I for a moment suppose that anybody will impute to you, either under the circumstances of the moment or with reference to your professional character, the having resigned your ship at the moment when she was sent on service; especially as I believe that on many other occasions (indeed it has recently occurred) officers have been removed from the command of their ships upon their being assigned to flag-officers. But however this may be, I am extremely desirous of assuring you that nothing has been intended

¹ There never was an instance, I believe, of a lieutenant being removed from his ship without official notice to the captain.

personally to you that could be inconsistent with the attention due to an officer whose professional character is in every respect so fully entitled to every consideration that can be paid to it.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem, &c., &c.

MULGRAVE.¹

THREE SENIOR CAPTAINS TO ADMIRAL GAMBIER.²

[Yarmouth, July 23rd, 1807.]

Sir,—We beg leave to represent to you the extreme sorrow and concern with which as senior captains in the navy we are penetrated in seeing

¹ The pressing service referred to, which rendered necessary this change so disagreeable to Byam Martin, was the despatch of an expedition to Copenhagen, to forestall the intended seizure of the Danish fleet by France and Russia, as agreed on by the newly allied Emperors at Tilsit. Of this agreement, Canning—then foreign secretary—had positive information on 21 July, and the fleet—consisting of 17 ships of the line, with 21 frigates and smaller vessels—sailed from Yarmouth on the 26th; a masterly promptitude, which has long commended itself to all who accept the maxim—‘à la guerre comme à la guerre.’ How Canning got the information is, however, still a puzzle; but in the *Athenaeum* of 27 Sept. 1902, Mr. Hubert Hall showed very strong reasons for believing that it was given by the Russian minister in London, who was much in favour of an Anglo-Russian alliance, and profoundly dissatisfied at the turn which affairs had taken at Tilsit.

² The three captains, who took post respectively from 1788, 1789 and 1790, waited on Admiral Gambier to express to him their sense of the injury they suffered by the appointment of Popham, a captain of 1795, as captain of the fleet. Gambier desired them to write him an official letter—this—which he duly forwarded; but Lord Mulgrave, disapproving of ‘their interference in the administration of naval affairs,’ wrote privately to Gambier that he ‘felt too much regard for the services of the officers to lay their letter before the Board of Admiralty.’ On the return of the fleet, however, it was made public in a pamphlet entitled, ‘A Discourse on our late Proceedings in the Baltic’ (*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xix., p. 68).

ourselves placed in situations which in any degree subject us to an inferiority to Captain Sir Home Popham. We are sensible that it belongs to his Majesty to establish the gradations of rank, and we have been led to respect and venerate his authority. We wish simply to convey our feelings, not to encroach on the pretensions and services of anyone. Waiving therefore those of the present captain of the fleet as much as circumstances will admit, and trusting that our regular, direct, unimpeached, and almost uninterrupted services will afford the most unequivocal denial to the supposition of our being actuated by any indirect or party motives, we anxiously hope, Sir, that you will take such measures as you may deem expedient to relieve us from the painful sensations we at present experience. The principles under which we have been brought up induce us to make any sacrifice that the service of our country may require. We are ready to proceed to any immediate service, but we rely that as early measures will be taken without injury to the service as can be effected to relieve us from the humiliating situation in which by the appointment of Sir Home Popham as captain of the fleet we feel ourselves placed.

S. HOOD.
R. G. KEATS.
ROBT. STOPFORD.

ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS TO B. MARTIN.

Newlands, 24th July, 1807.

Dear Martin,—I am truly sorry to find by your obliging letter that things have turned out so unpleasantly to you, and it is natural for you to feel and to show upon the present occasion that spirit

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which you have so often manifested to your own honour and that of the country upon actual service.

I am not honoured by communications from the Admiralty, but I can hardly conceive that they would intentionally do you an injury. If you could have been landed at Plymouth, as your ship was wanted for a particular service at the moment, it would have saved a great deal of the distress you feel ; but that I suppose could not have been conveniently done. Your being removed from the ship at Yarmouth where the bustle of the expedition was going forward, those who occasioned it must be sensible of your feelings as well as myself, particularly as it does not appear they had a ship going upon the same service to appoint you to command.

I never heard what Admiral Gambier's opinion was as to the seniority proper for the appointment to be first captain to a commander-in-chief, nor do I know why he should have preferred Sir H. Popham to yourself for that situation. It has at times been stated to me from the Board that a captain so named must be within forty of the top of the captains' list ; but that was probably done at the time to answer a particular purpose, and perhaps to prevent my applying for an officer who it might be supposed I wished to have.¹

In regard to your appointment to the ship again, after what we have seen for a dozen years past I would recommend to every officer to put the best face upon things, and to go upon any service where he may be called—although he may have thought himself hardly used upon a particular occasion—and I should think my old friend Fanshawe, for whom

¹ It is not an unusual practice for a Board of Admiralty to plead a Departmental rule as adverse to an application, and for another Board to throw over the Departmental rule in a similar case and comply with the request.

I have a most sincere respect and true affection, would be of the same opinion.¹

I am, dear Martin,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
W. CORNWALLIS.

ADMIRAL SIR C. POLE TO BYAM MARTIN.

East Street, August 1807.

My dear Martin,—Though I think the Service ought to uphold itself, and mark their disgust at the injudicious and disgraceful appointment of Sir Home Popham, yet I see no possible means of doing so at this moment without greater evils arising. As an individual it appears to me that you have conducted yourself most respectfully, and I think properly, to the Admiralty by the remonstrance you have made. The Admiralty are answerable for the appointment, and they have to answer to the country if any dissatisfaction follows, which it is more than possible may be the case. I do not apprehend that Bowen's situation and Popham's are at all similar ; the objection made is not merely to his seniority, but to his character ; but the Admiralty ought on account of his rank to have objected to his appointment, as I think they did to Admiral Cornwallis when he wished to have had Whitby.² I fear Gambier hath been the dupe on this occasion, and instead of himself proposing a first captain, the Duke of York or some other person of this description hath named Sir H. P. ; but all this is little to the purpose of my

¹ Very excellent advice ; at the same time, as the Naval Lords are aware, moves even from one ship to another are expensive, and should not be made unless absolutely necessary, as was the case in this instance.

² It is to this that Cornwallis probably alludes in the previous letter.

letter, which ought to have been confined to my expressing an opinion that no advantage would be gained by any parliamentary notice, especially at the moment the fleet may be considered to be in active service. Ere this you will have seen Mr. Bastard. The state of the country is at present offering us a most dismal prospect whether we look to the north or the west. In all times and on all occasions, I am most sincerely and most affectionately yours,

C. W. M. POLE.

If the fleet had not sailed from a British port, I should say every measure should be pursued both in Parliament and out of it to show our feelings, and obtain a change in that system which our rulers have adopted and are following up; but I fear the evil during the operation of the fleet.¹

¹ Popham was, unquestionably, a man of zeal, intelligence and gallantry. At the repeated request of the Duke of York he was promoted to post rank in April 1795, as a reward for his services with the army in Flanders; and again, after the campaign of 1799, was rewarded with a pension of 500*l.* a year. It may be fairly assumed that the influence of the Duke of York had a good deal to do with his being appointed captain of the fleet in 1807, and his experience of military affairs may have been thought to have peculiarly fitted him for the position. On the other hand, he was not at that time highly esteemed in the navy. He had been the subject of a long inquiry, by a Committee of the House of Commons, as to an alleged wasteful or dishonest expenditure of public money. Of this he had been declared entirely innocent, but, no doubt, some of the dirt so freely thrown had stuck; and a couple of years later he had been tried by court-martial and severely reprimanded for leaving his station—the Cape of Good Hope—and making an unauthorised attack on Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, which terminated most disastrously to us, by the surrender of the army under Whitelocke. In these circumstances, the appointment of a junior, over the heads of men so distinguished as Hood, Keats and Stopford, was a serious administrative blunder, which might easily have become a public danger if these three officers had had a little less public and patriotic spirit.

B. MARTIN TO LORD MULGRAVE.

Plymouth, November 18th, 1807.

My Lord,—The letter which I had the honour to receive from your lordship on the 24th July alleviated in some degree the mortification I felt, and still feel, upon the subject of my removal from the Prince of Wales, as you were then pleased to assure me that such a measure was expedient for the accommodation of the public service, and not at all intended as personal. I therefore trust that, in bringing this circumstance to your lordship's recollection, I do not look with improper confidence to your protection, and acquiescence in my request to be appointed to command the *Implacable*.¹

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. B. M.

B. MARTIN TO LORD GAMBIER.

Plymouth, November 18th, 1807.

My Lord,—In compliance with the wish expressed in your lordship's note of the 10th inst., I have to acquaint you that Messrs. Cooke and Haldorff are my agents.

I am thankful to your lordship for the offer of assistance towards my views of employment. I have signified to Lord Mulgrave my readiness for service, and under the circumstance of my removal from the ship I had the honour of commanding I have presumed to ask for the *Implacable*.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. B. M.

¹ See *ante*, p. 186.

BYAM MARTIN TO [? LADY MARTIN¹].

Plymouth, Nov. 21st, 1807.

My dear Madam,—As little Kitty² is writing to you, and I have two notes to enclose, I must take only a half-sheet of paper, that I may not be tempted beyond the limits of a frank. After deliberating for ten days I have gradually moderated my tone towards the Lords, till at length, on Wednesday last, I sent a letter to each of them, and of which I now transmit copies for your perusal, and then to be forwarded to Henry. I confess I feel (and I believe I ever shall) some regret at not speaking plainly and honestly the indignation which has been fretting me for the last four months; however, there is a satisfaction in knowing that I yield to the wishes of my friends, and in doing so, learn from them what Mr. Gambier will never learn from a Methodist preacher, to return good for evil. My things still remain in Chatham, and probably will not reach Plymouth for a long time, and when they do I shall no doubt see them in a sad, mutilated state. By a letter from Chatham this morning I find Saunders had just arrived from town, and was ordered back again with some boxes belonging to Lord Gambier; I shall therefore be very much obliged by your sending the enclosed note to the Admiralty as soon as possible, it being absolutely necessary that Saunders should be present at the sale of my wine, and accompany the furniture, &c., to Plymouth in the navy transport, whenever a vessel of that description may chance to be coming this way, which I hope and believe for his comfort may be very soon.

The Implacable is the only ship coming forward at this port for some time; she is to go out of dock

¹ Wife of his brother, Sir Henry.

² His wife.

in about a fortnight after receiving a considerable repair ; but I do not expect to succeed in my application, as it is generally understood that she is promised to Captain Cockburn. Henry has the dimensions of the Implacable under the name Duguay-Trouin ; she is another Impétueux with three inches more breadth. By the first navy transport going to the river you will receive some Scilly ling, and I shall also send some for Henry and my uncle.

B. MARTIN TO LORD MULGRAVE.

[? November 23rd, 1807.]

My Lord,—I lose not a moment in acknowledging the honour of your lordship's letter of the 21st inst., and expressing my thanks for the favour you have conferred upon me by acceding to my wishes respecting the Implacable, but I regret that such an application should interfere with the arrangements your lordship had in contemplation.

I beg to assure your lordship that my not answering the letter which I had the honour to receive from you on the 24th of July¹ did not proceed from disrespect, but from an unwillingness to trespass again upon your lordship with the feelings of irritation which I must confess I was then under, and for which your lordship has made such candid allowance.

I have the honour to be

T. B. M.

¹ See *ante*, p. 328.

B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.

Plymouth, Dec. 12th, 1807.

My dear Henry,—The Implacable is reported ready to receive men the 21st inst., and in the meantime the dockyard people are rigging her, &c. I think this summer will produce a very active campaign at sea, and I flatter myself this universal war will terminate with great glory to old England.

I have applied for a Mr. Baldwin, late of the P. of Wales, to be first lieutenant of the Implacable. He waits in London till she is commissioned, and I have begged him by this day's post to call on you in case Kitty should write to any of my sisters for gloves or such like merchandise to trouble him with. Kitty is not at all well, nor has she been so for ten days.

Give my love to your wife, and believe me,
Ever yours,
T. B. MARTIN.

Request the things may be received on board the first King's transport, or one in constant pay, that may be loaded either at Deptford or Woolwich.

Sir Henry Martin, Bart.,
26 Upper Harley Street, London.

REAR-ADMIRAL STOPFORD TO B. MARTIN.

Dockyard, 9th January [1809].

My dear Martin,—As my fate is now fixed and everything nearly settled for my union with Mary,¹ I hope you will in some degree participate of the joy which I feel upon the occasion. You must allow

¹ Daughter of Commissioner Fanshawe, sister-in-law of Byam Martin.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

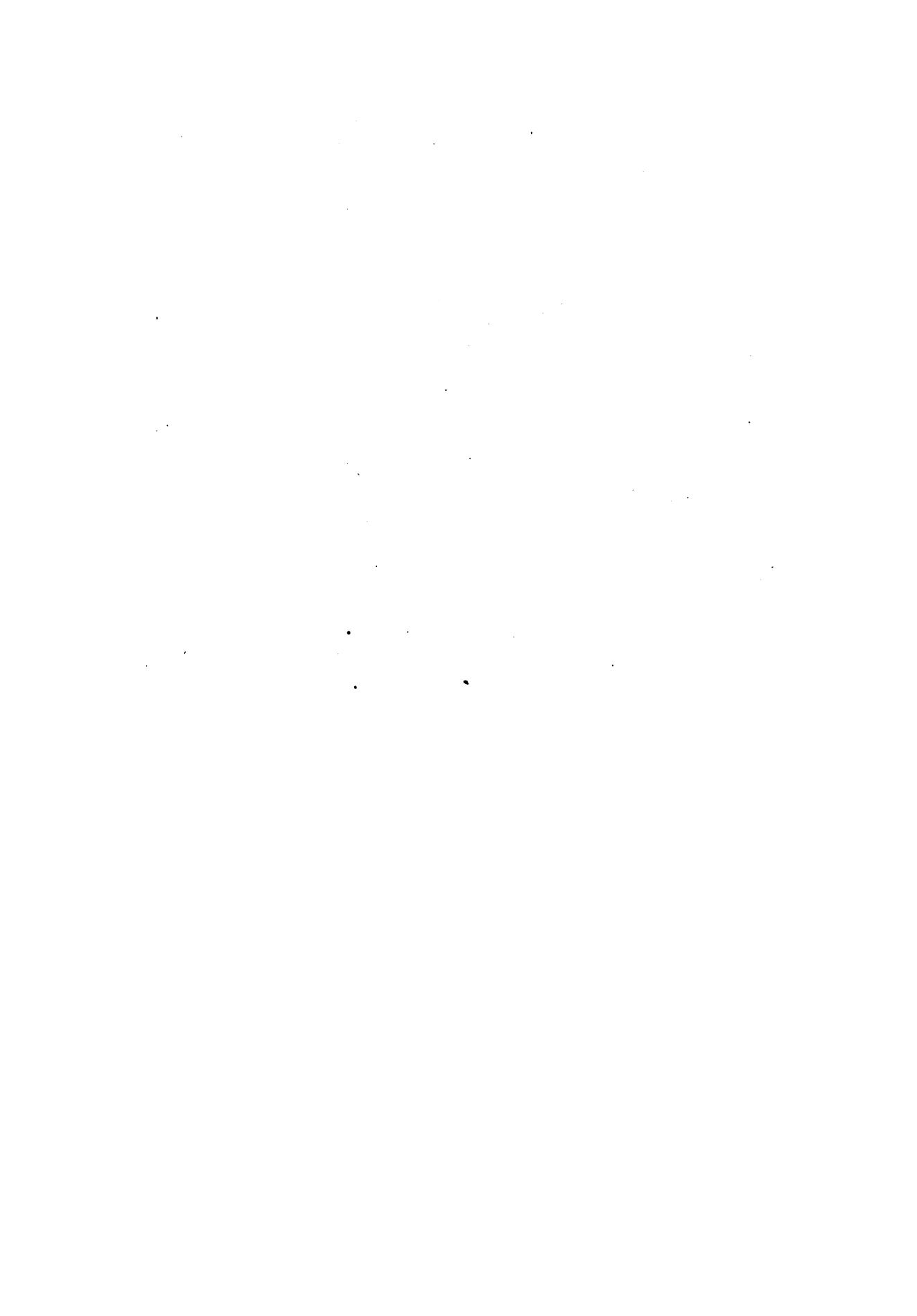
CAPTAIN'S ORDERS.¹ ANDROMEDA, 1788

1. WITH the established uniform, the officers and gentlemen belonging to his Majesty's ship I have the honour to command are, whenever ordered to appear full dressed, and when sent upon all duties, to wear boots, gold-laced hats and black stocks, and their hair queued constantly ; at sea they are permitted to appear in brown breeches, long blue or linen trousers, with or without boots ; in the summer and in the West Indies with linen waist-coats and breeches, and nankeen are allowed on board. The lieutenants may wear their frock uniforms, and the gentlemen jackets and round hats, except mustering. On the Sunday, pursuant to the new regulations, the master, purser, surgeon, his mates and the clerk are likewise to appear in their uniforms, attending to this order ; only they may consider plain hats as their uniform.²

2. Whenever his Majesty's ship under my command is either clearing, or undergoing a thorough refit, or getting ready for sea after a thorough refit, every officer and gentleman is to attend from daylight till sunset, except those who have had the middle watch, who are to attend from seven in the morning. At other times, when his Majesty's ship is only undergoing that partial refitting that is required for every

¹ From a private copy lent, some years since, to the Secretary by the late Lieutenant Frank Arthur Farewell, R.N. The paragraphs in square brackets are abstracts of the original ; the others are verbatim.

² Cf. C. N. Robinson, *The British Fleet*, p. 502.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CAPTAIN'S ORDERS.¹ ANDROMEDA, 1788

1. WITH the established uniform, the officers and gentlemen belonging to his Majesty's ship I have the honour to command are, whenever ordered to appear full dressed, and when sent upon all duties, to wear boots, gold-laced hats and black stocks, and their hair queued constantly ; at sea they are permitted to appear in brown breeches, long blue or linen trousers, with or without boots ; in the summer and in the West Indies with linen waist-coats and breeches, and nankeen are allowed on board. The lieutenants may wear their frock uniforms, and the gentlemen jackets and round hats, except mustering. On the Sunday, pursuant to the new regulations, the master, purser, surgeon, his mates and the clerk are likewise to appear in their uniforms, attending to this order ; only they may consider plain hats as their uniform.²

2. Whenever his Majesty's ship under my command is either clearing, or undergoing a thorough refit, or getting ready for sea after a thorough refit, every officer and gentleman is to attend from daylight till sunset, except those who have had the middle watch, who are to attend from seven in the morning. At other times, when his Majesty's ship is only undergoing that partial refitting that is required for every

¹ From a private copy lent, some years since, to the Secretary by the late Lieutenant Frank Arthur Farewell, R.N. The paragraphs in square brackets are abstracts of the original ; the others are verbatim.

² Cf. C. N. Robinson, *The British Fleet*, p. 502.

ship after having been at sea, two out of the four lieutenants and two-thirds of the gentlemen are to be constantly on board.

3. No officer or gentleman to be out of his Majesty's ship under my command after gun-fire without the captain's most particular leave. The commanding officer in the captain's absence may give leave to officers and gentlemen to go on shore, but on no account is to presume to give leave for anybody to sleep or remain on shore after gun-fire, paying always the most particular attention that the proper number of officers and gentlemen are constantly on board ; but at Spithead, Plymouth Sound and the Nore the leave given is to be understood for the night, unless positively required to be on board before.

4. [Officers to be at their stations at the getting up and down lower yards, &c. &c.]

5. When his Majesty's ship under my command is moored, the barge is to be the only boat under the ship's stern, made fast to one of the stern ladders, and two boat keepers to be constantly in her. The rest of the boats are all to be made fast to the guess-warps, with one boat-keeper constantly in each.

6. [Except in case of emergencies, the bargemen are not to be sent in any other boat.]

7. Whenever a boat is sent from his Majesty's ship under my command, a gentleman is always to be sent in her to keep the boat's crew in order, whether on his Majesty's service or not ; and the gentleman is not to allow the people in the boat to go out of her unless the service they are sent on requires it. And the following regulations about boats are to be strictly observed : the gentleman whose turn it is to go in the barge is to be properly dressed in his uniform ; whenever the signal is made for an officer, a gentleman is to attend in the boat, and after the lieutenant has got into the flag-ship, the gentleman is to put off and lay on his oars till he is called alongside by the officer ; when the signal is made for a petty officer, two gentlemen are to go, one to answer the signal, the other to take care of the boat's crew ; whenever the launch is sent watering, one of the mates and a gentleman to attend ; when the boat is sent for fresh beef, two gentlemen and the purser's steward to go ; when a

boat is sent to fetch off stores from the store, or carry them from his Majesty's ship under my command, an officer is always to attend ; whenever any report is to be carried to the commanding officer's ship, an officer is to carry it, and is likewise to row guard whenever it is the turn of his Majesty's ship under my command. At sunset, all boats except the launch are to be hoisted in at Spithead, Plymouth Sound and the Nore ; in other harbours and roadsteads the barge is to be hoisted in at sunset ; at drum beating, the jolly-boat is to go on shore and wait till gun-fire, and then to be hoisted in as soon as she comes alongside ; the officers and gentlemen who have leave on shore are to be down time enough on the beach to embark in this ; the cutter is to be manned with the bargemen at night and to be sent on shore at the hour the captain shall order.

8. Whenever a boat is sent on his Majesty's service, or for the captain from the ship, or returns from either of those services, no passenger is on any account whatever to go in her. Whenever any officer or gentleman belonging to his Majesty's fleet are visiting on board his Majesty's ship under my command, they are to be informed that it is the standing rules and orders of the ship that they may have boats from their own ship to carry them on board at gun-fire, as no stranger is to be on board his Majesty's ship under my command after gun-fire, and as no officer is to presume to send any boat belonging to his Majesty's ship under my command with any officer or gentleman belonging to other ships without having previously obtained the captain's leave, the commanding officer not being authorised to give a boat for that purpose ; and in order to prevent mistakes, the commanding officer, in the captain's absence, is not to presume to send any boat but the jolly-boat to bring strangers off from the shore or to carry them on shore again, without having himself previously obtained the captain's leave for that purpose. No boat whatever is to be sent from the ship, if the captain is on board, without his leave being previously obtained ; and if any are sent during his absence, he is immediately upon his return to be made acquainted therewith. No boat to be sent from the ship during meal times but on his Majesty's service or on the most urgent necessity. No shore boat is to be permitted to come alongside without the captain's

leave being previously obtained, or the commanding officer's in his absence.

9. The boatswain's, gunner's and carpenter's mates, master-at-arms and ship's corporal may have chests ; the rest of the ship's company and marines may have bags.

10. [Divisions ; clothes' lists, &c. To wash clothes by watches on Tuesdays and Saturdays.]

11. The mates and midshipmen are to sleep in canvas hammocks, with the initial letters of their names in black. The hammocks and bags of the seamen to be marked in black, those of the marines in red. [Each seaman and marine to have two hammocks. Men to be punished if their hammocks are not marked.]

12. [Stations of the officers and gentlemen.]

13. [Care of—precautions as to—keys of magazine, &c.]

14. Every morning at daylight, the quarter-deck, main-deck, forecastle and gangways are to be regularly washed ; the quarter-deck to be every morning scrubbed with the stone ; the lower deck and gun-room to be washed every other morning, and occasionally washed with vinegar. The days the lower deck is not washed, it is to be swabbed and swept by the day mate under the inspection of the first lieutenant, who—at sea—is to be responsible for the good order of the gun-room, servants' berths under the half-deck, galley, lower deck, cockpit and cable tiers ; the officer of the watch—at sea—to be responsible for the cleanliness and good order of the quarter deck, forecastle, gangways and main deck. At an anchor, the whole of the decks are under the charge of the first lieutenant. When wine or grog is served it is only to be given out by the day mate, who is likewise to see the grog properly mixed, the mixture being four waters to one spirit ; the wine or grog to be served in the morning at half-past eleven ; in the evening, in the summer, at four o'clock ; in the winter, at half-past three. No boy is to have his wine or grog, but the purser is to settle with the captain quarterly. The day mate is to have charge of the hold under the master ; to attend getting up of the water as high as the main deck, when it is to be given over by him to the mate of the watch, except the water for mixing of the grog, which is under the sole charge of the day-mate. The day mate is to open the casks of beef and pork ; he is also to write the

log under the master's inspection in his cabin, and then to show it to the captain. The mates of the watches are to be careful to make the proper remarks upon the log-board, and to show it to the officers for their inspection at the end of each watch. Whenever it is fine weather, the hammocks are to be piped up at half past seven in the summer and at eight in the winter. The day-mate is to see the hammocks [up], not only of the ship's company but of the gentlemen also, and then to report to the officer on deck. The hammocks at sea to be constantly stowed in the painted cloths, and at anchor, in good weather, in white cloths. At sunset the hammocks are to be piped down, and the day mate is to report to the officer their being down. When the hammocks are piped up and down, the main-top men and after-guard are to carry the gentlemen's hammocks up and down. The decks are to be swept fore and aft at the following times:—As soon as the hammocks are piped up in the morning; immediately after breakfast; at half past eleven in the forenoon; immediately after dinner; at half past three in the afternoon, before sunset and at sunset. If the weather will not permit the hammocks to be piped up at the usual hour, they are then to be triced up, and the day mate is to report their being triced up. When the weather is fine, the bags are to be piped up immediately after breakfast and are to be stowed upon and along the booms, and not in the boats. No person whatever is to sit or sleep in the boats, and the officers and gentlemen are to take care that the ship's company are informed of this order. When the lower deck has been washed or swabbed, no person to be allowed to go down upon it till it is perfectly dry, and the day mate is to attend and then report to the first lieutenant. The ship's company are to be informed that no clothes whatever are to be hung or spread upon the lower deck, or anywhere except as specified in order No. 10. The men are not to go down the after ladder under the half-deck but in bad weather, when the rest of the hatchways are battened down. . . . [A gentleman to go the rounds every half-hour during the night; the master-at-arms, every quarter of an hour. Boatswain, gunner and carpenter to report twice a day at sea.]

15. [The first lieutenant never to keep watch; to be

the day officer.] The other three lieutenants are to keep watch when the ship is unmoored or at sea, and when the lower yards and topgallant masts are struck. . . . The people at the helm and gunner at the main-sheet to be relieved every two hours.

16. It is expected that all the officers and gentlemen belonging to his Majesty's ship under my command are upon the quarter-deck, from nine in the morning till the watch is set, whenever the captain is going out of the ship or coming into her. Should the captain go out or return on board after these hours, it is expected that the first lieutenant and gentlemen of the watch, and those officers and gentlemen that are up do attend. Should any officer or gentleman be reprimanded by the captain, it is expected upon these occasions no answer is given. No person to walk of the same side of the deck with the captain except the officer of the watch at sea, and the officer carrying on the duty in port. No officer or gentleman belonging to his Majesty's ship under my command is to strike any foremast man or private marine, or stop their grog or wine, but to make a regular complaint to the officer of the watch at sea and the officer carrying on the duty in port, who are by no means to keep the matter concealed, but to make it known immediately to the captain, or to confine him should the captain be absent at the time. . . . At an anchor, a sentinel to be constantly powdered and dressed in his full uniform, on each gangway and on the forecastle: at night they are to have the black arms. The officers of marines is to pick out three chosen men to be constant sentinels at the cabin door, who are—at an anchor—to be constantly powdered and dressed in full uniform, but at sea are to wear jackets and no powder. The rest of the sentinels need not be dressed, and are to be furnished from the watch of marines and relieved every two hours. Whenever a party of marines are ordered to attend punishment, their arms are to be loaded with ball cartridges, and to carry six rounds a man.

17. [Each officer and gentleman to keep a clothes list. The public order book to be kept in the first lieutenant's cabin. Each officer and gentleman to have a private order book.]

18. In fine weather and when it is warm, the ship's company are to dine on deck.

Given under my hand on board his Majesty's ship Andromeda, July 30th, 1788.

WILLIAM.

19. Andromeda at sea, July 31st, 1788.

[When refitting, sentries at gangways and on forecastle may wear jackets on week days.]

20. Andromeda at sea, August 1st, 1788.

[The spirit of men whose grog is stopped, whether sick or for punishment, is, the first of every month, to be put into a particular cask for stopped liquor.

21. Andromeda at sea, August 1st, 1788.

Order the 8th, requesting and directing the first lieutenant or commanding officer to see all strangers out of his Majesty's ship under my command at gun-fire is by no means meant to restrain the officers and men from having either black or white women on board through the night, so long as the discipline is unhurt by the indulgence. The first lieutenant is to pay the strictest attention that, upon the likelihood of his Majesty's ship under my command proceeding to sea, every woman is sent on shore, unless he has received instructions in that behalf from the captain.

22. Andromeda at sea, August 4th, 1788.

[Officers under arrest are under the charge of the first lieutenant.]

23. From the scandalous and disgraceful laziness of the gentlemen, it is my positive orders and directions that the officer of the watch at sea, and the officer carrying on the duty at an anchor, do at six bells in the morning send down the day mate to have the gentlemen's hammocks lashed up and taken down ready to be immediately brought up when they are piped up. In future, the hammocks to be up in six minutes from the first pipe up, and down in five after being piped down.

Andromeda, Halifax Harbour, September 1st, 1788.

From my having yesterday met in the town of Halifax, several of the gentlemen belonging to his Majesty's ship under my command in shoes and stockings, who to my certain knowledge went on shore in the established dress of the ship, it is my particular orders and directions that

every officer and gentleman belonging to his Majesty's ship under my command do appear, when on leave on shore, in their uniform as directed in No. 1. It is with equal surprise and astonishment that I am under the necessity of giving this order, having already so repeatedly expressed my wish of uniformity and officer-like appearance in the officers and gentlemen. This order being particularly addressed to them, they are to remember that any person who has the honour to serve in his Majesty's naval service cannot distinguish themselves more properly than by a strict adherence to all written orders and verbal wishes of their commanding officer.

In order to prevent mistakes, the marine officers to wear boots, except when ordered to appear with a guard.

[Junior officers on shore meeting a superior officer] to show proper respect by taking their hats off.

[No fishing-lines from the ship without the captain's leave.]

APPENDIX B

COURT-MARTIAL ON CAPTAIN LUMSDAINE.

[P.R.O. Adm., Sec., In letters, 5330.]

MINUTES of a court-martial held on board his Majesty's ship the Britannia, in the outer road of Toulon, the 1st day of November, 1793, for the trial of Captain George Lumsdaine, of his Majesty's ship the Isis, on a charge exhibited against him by Vice-Admiral Lord Hood, Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c., of not complying with his lordship's orders, in having neglected to deliver to Mr. Consul Magra, at Tunis, the letter which he was directed to do by his lordship's order of the 27th of June last.

Present :

William Hotham, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the White, President ; Samuel Granston Goodall, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Red ; Sir Hyde Parker, Knt., Rear-Admiral of the White and First Captain of the Fleet ;

Captain Skeffington Lut-	Captain Archibald Dickson,
widge,	Charles Maurice
„ Samuel Reeve,	Pole,
„ Robert Manners	John Holloway,
„ Sutton,	John Child Purvis,
„ John Knight,	Benjamin Hallo-
„ John Matthews,	well.

The court being duly sworn . . . [the prisoner acknowledged having received the letter in question from the commander-in-chief, and requested that his reasons for not complying with the order might be read to the court. This being permitted, he read as follows] :

I beg leave to lay before the court my reasons why

Lord Hood's letter was not delivered to Mr. Consul Magra, at Tunis. On the evening previous to my going into Tunis Bay I despatched Captain Martin, of his Majesty's sloop Tisiphone, with his lordship's letter to Mr. Magra.¹ The next morning he rejoined me, having discovered a French frigate under the land; upon which I immediately stood in with the hopes of cutting her off, but found she was at anchor in the road of Port Farina, and perceiving a boat despatched from her to Tunis, conjectured there were more of the enemy's ships there, and directly ordered Captain Martin to that port with his lordship's letter. A few hours afterwards he returned and informed me that there were in Tunis road a French ship of the line and four frigates. I therefore, after consulting on the occasion Captains Trigge and Martin, of his Majesty's ships Mermaid and Tisiphone, thought it most advisable to despatch one of the ships with this intelligence to his lordship, and that the others should proceed to Tripoli with the convoy.

Understanding there were no forts in Tunis Bay that could give any sort of protection to his Majesty's ships under my command, and well knowing how little respect the French paid to a neutral port when, a civilised nation, they attacked Commodore Johnstone in Port Praya Bay, and what could be expected from them at this present juncture, particularly on the coast of Barbary in an open bay, where there are no regular fortifications and upwards of four leagues from the town of Tunis; at the same time I considered the risk of the King's ships, if not attacked, being blocked up and prevented from putting into exe-

¹ Perkins Magra, consul at Tunis; probably a brother of James Maria Magra, in 1773 consul at Teneriffe. In or about 1779 this last, then living in London, changed his name to Matra, identifying himself, rightly or wrongly, with the Corsican family which Paoli 'piously exterminated' (W. F. Lord, *Lost Possessions of England*, p. 183) in 1755, leaving perhaps some shoots which took refuge in England. J. M. Matra was consul at Tangier, consul-general and ambassador in Morocco from 1787 to 1806, when he died at Tangier (Playfair, *Bibliography of Morocco*, Nos. 2080-5). In 1783 he wrote for the Government a remarkable memorandum proposing the settlement of a colony in New South Wales (*Historical Records of N.S.W.*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 1-6).

cution the orders I was under from the commander-in-chief.

Here I beg leave to call the attention of the court to that part of his lordship's orders wherein he directs me only to call at Tunis in my way, and deliver a letter to the consul there, and without loss of time to make the best of my way to Tripoli ; and he also adds, that I have no occasion to have communication with Tunis, as it must prevent my having communication with the shore at other places ; and from the general tenor of that part of his lordship's order, I concluded that his letter to Mr. Magra was not of that importance as to authorise me to risk the loss of any of his Majesty's ships and the convoy ; and I have to observe that his lordship must have had early intelligence by the Mermaid, which I had despatched to him, that Mr. Magra's letter had not been delivered, and also of the steps I had taken for the good of his Majesty's service. Mr. Consul Lucas had also furnished me with intelligence that the French squadron had certain information of the Hampden being bound to Tripoli with presents for the Bey and Regency, and meant if possible to intercept her, which there was reason to suppose might be the case, not only from the French corvette in Port Farina road having despatched a boat to Tunis immediately upon discovering us, but from her other manœuvres, which clearly indicated that she was the look-out ship and expected the squadron from Tunis to follow us.

I do not think it necessary to enumerate the irregularities committed by the French in the different Italian ports for the twelve months past, and how little respect they have paid to neutrality, especially when they had a superior force, as the court are perfectly acquainted with all these circumstances. What, therefore—I must again repeat—could I have expected, had I gone with such an inferior force into Tunis bay, which—I beg leave to observe—I look upon as widely different from that of entering the port of a civilised nation ?

I have only to add that I had always conceived a certain degree of discretionary power was vested in a commander of a King's squadron, or any person holding a responsible situation. It must be very evident to every member of the court that orders delivered from a

commander-in-chief do not provide against unforeseen events or accidents that may occur in the course of service.

[Captain Martin and Mr. David Spence, master of the Isis, were questioned by the prisoner in corroboration of his statement.]

And the court having heard the evidence in support of the charge, as well as what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, and having maturely and deliberately considered the same, is of opinion that the said Captain George Lumsdaine did not comply with the orders of the commander-in-chief, inasmuch as he did not deliver to Mr. Consul Magra the letter in question ; yet, from the testimony before the court, it clearly appears that his conduct upon that occasion did not proceed from any neglect, but, on the contrary, was owing to the information he had received of the superiority of the enemy's force in Tunis bay, and the little dependence he could place upon their observance of the laws of nations ; and for the reasons given, it satisfactorily appears to the court that it was more prudent in Captain Lumsdaine to give up the attempt of entering Tunis bay than of running the risk which would otherwise have attended his Majesty's ships. From all which considerations, the court is of opinion that, however unjustifiable it is in an officer not strictly to comply with orders, yet circumstances may sometimes arise in which his discretionary conduct may be found necessary ; and in the present instance it appears to the court that Captain Lumsdaine was justified in not delivering the letter to Mr. Consul Magra. The court do therefore adjudge the said Captain George Lumsdaine to be acquitted ; and he is hereby acquitted accordingly.

Signed by the thirteen members of the court.
Hugh McIlraith, Deputy Judge-Advocate.

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